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The Episcopal church

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH



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THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Its History
Its Prayer Book
Its Ministry

FIVE LECTURES

BY
✓
THOMAS F. GAILOR, S.T.D.
BISHOP OF TENNESSEE

MILWAUKEE
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1914

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

I HAVE CONSENTED to the publication of these lectures at the request of many people who heard them, and especially of the members of the Men's Bible Class of St. Paul's Church, Chattanooga, for whom the lectures on the Prayer Book were written.

It is thought that the information presented in this brief and popular form may prove useful to persons enquiring about the Church, and who may in this way be led on to wider and fuller investigation.

As the lectures were delivered at various times, and to different congregations, they necessarily involve some repetitions; but for the uninstructed reader this may be an advantage; and therefore they are allowed to stand as they were originally prepared.

THOMAS F. GAILOR,

Easter, 1914.

Bishop of Tennessee.

TO
THE VERY REV. JAMES CRAIK MORRIS, M.A.,
DEAN OF ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL, MEMPHIS,
TENNESSEE, THIS LITTLE BOOK IS AFFEC-
TIONATELY DEDICATED

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THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND



THE religion of Christ is Catholic—a universal religion; that is to say, it is not limited in its appeal or consolations to any race or age or class or clime. To every man and woman that is born upon the earth it says: “You are one people, one family, one in hope and purpose, one in the Redemption by the purple blood of Christ.”

And the appropriateness of Christianity to the needs of all races of men is one of the strongest evidences of its divine origin; although to the superficial observer, it confuses the history of its development. As a matter of fact the great institutions and truths of the Gospel are like a stream flowing through the wilderness of human life and taking color from the banks through which it has to pass. The truths, the institutions, remain the same; but the different races of men have given them a variety of interpretation and expression.

The brightness and joyousness of temperament, the intellectual subtlety and playful fancy,

of the Greek, demanded and created a type of Christian thought and worship easily distinguished from that produced by the less intellectual and more practical, the more serious and law-loving Roman; and the Christianity of the Teutonic people has ever differed, in its external expression at least, from that of the Latin or Greek or Slavonic Race. We are Teutons. The race to which we owe our language and our social and political institutions is the Teutonic Race; and therefore the story of the development of these institutions is full of interest and instruction.

The history of the Church of England, like the history of the English language and people, is complicated by the existence of many separate factors of influence, that from time to time have checked or retarded or changed the course of its development. Yet its age, out-dating that of any national Church in the modern world; its insular position; its comparative freedom through long periods from external direction or control; have afforded it unequalled opportunity for the cultivation of its own special and peculiar characteristics, so that it presents to the student the fairest example of the National idea in Christianity that can be found anywhere to-day. From the very first the history of the English Church has been closely identified with the growth and progress of

Anglo-Saxon liberties and Anglo-Saxon law; and the proper understanding of this history will greatly contribute to the right estimate of both English and American political institutions. It cannot be said that our people at large fully appreciate the importance of this Church history. Religious and sectional prejudices have both combined to misrepresent the facts. Titles, dress, and social usages have obscured in the popular mind the real purpose and reason of the Church of our fathers. Bishops in the House of Lords—and Clergymen dependent upon their Patrons for their livings; the collection of tithes (which some people wrongly think are by act of Parliament), and the bygone legal disability of Dissent—these things have made the very name of the State Church, or the King's Church, unpopular among many of our American people, and have led them to forget the real nature and character of that institution of which these things are only the unnecessary, unfortunate accidents. The object of this chapter is to sketch, as briefly and simply as may be, the history of the English Church, and to show, if possible, what is her due and lawful position to-day in Christendom.

The history naturally divides itself into distinct periods, well defined and easy to determine.

They are :

- (1) The British period from the Roman Conquest of Britain to the Mission of Augustine, 596 A. D. ;
- (2) The Saxon period to the Norman Conquest, 1066 A. D. ;
- (3) The Anglo-Roman period to the Repudiation of the Papal Supremacy, A. D. 1534 ;
- (4) The period of Transition and Reconstruction from A. D. 1534 to A. D. 1662 ; and,
- (5) The Modern period.

THE BRITISH CHURCH

The early British Period need not detain us long. The evidence is meagre and comparatively uninteresting. No less than three theories as to the manner of the introduction of Christianity into Britain have been held and advocated by eminent scholars. There is strong enough evidence to make the learned Bishop of Lincoln, Christopher Wordsworth, declare that it is probable that St. Paul himself preached the Gospel in Britain about A. D. 64. (Wordsworth's "Introduction to Pastoral Epistles.")

The most favored tradition in England was that which assigned the preaching of Christ and the founding of Glastonbury Abbey to Joseph of Arimathea. Queen Elizabeth and Archbishop

Parker (see Hore's "Eighteen Centuries" etc., p. 10) incidentally appeal to this as received tradition. The English Bishops at the Council of Basle, A. D. 1439, successfully claimed precedence on account of it.

The Roman Catholic historian, Baronius (1557), has a curious marginal gloss, in which it is recorded that Joseph of Arimathea went to Britain by way of Gaul and founded the Church there, and that the authority for this statement is a manuscript in the Vatican library.

There is very strong evidence for the opinion that the Claudia, wife of Pudens, mentioned by St. Paul (II Tim. 4), is the same Claudia mentioned by the Roman poet Martial, and was a British princess, educated in the Christian Faith by Timothy at Rome (see R. H. Cole, "The Anglican Church").

It is sufficient for our purpose to suppose that Christianity came into Britain through the Church in Gaul somewhere towards the end of the first century. Tertullian mentions the fact before the end of the second century, and we know that some of the victims of the Diocletian persecution, St. Alban for example, were members of the British Church. The names of British Bishops appear in the records of the Council of Arles (A. D. 340), Sardica (A. D. 350), and Rimini

(A. D. 352), at the last of which we are told that most of them refused to be entertained at the public expense and provided for their own necessities. The British Church is specially commended by Athanasius (A. D. 329) as having been loyal to the Creed and decisions of the first Council of Nicea. From the information we can glean from the writings of Gildas, Nennius, and Bede, and from statements of Italians and Saxons who were unfriendly, it appears that the growth of the British Church was hindered by ignorance and contention, and by the quick, excitable, and war-like character of the people. Yet the names of not a few very noble characters still shine out in her annals that have outlasted the changes of centuries.

British ideas and British institutions for good or evil were submerged by the Saxon and Danish invasions. Our inheritance from them may be more than we can define, but it appears to be small. As a rule, in our social and political history and in our language there is nothing more than the survival of some common custom, word, or phrase to prove that we were Britons. So it is with the British Church. The very word which we, as English-speaking people, use to describe the Christian Society—the word “Church”—we probably get as an inheritance from ancient Brit-

ain. It is a Greek word—with Greek associations—connoting a great original conception of Christianity. It is characteristic of the Teutonic race that we put the emphasis upon the corporate relation to our Lord's Person and not upon the fact that we are "elect" or "called." We say *Kuriake* — *Kirk* — Church — "belonging to the Lord," and not *Ecclesia* or *Eglise*, "called out."

THE SAXON PERIOD
596—1066 A. D.

In the year 596 A. D. the great and good Bishop Gregory I. of Rome, stirred by the story of the flood of heathenism brought into Britain by the Saxon Conquest, sent the monk Augustine to convert the people if possible and establish the Church there. It is not certain that Augustine ever came into personal contact with the British Bishops. If he did, it is not strange that cordial relations were not established between them. Augustine was narrow, supercilious and childish. But he did his best. He was earnest and sincere. He contrasts painfully and pathetically in both wisdom and temper with Pope Gregory. But he converted Ethelbert, the King of Kent, and during his lifetime maintained the Christian religion in that Kingdom. Meanwhile the Keltic missionaries, recovering from their terror of the Saxons, began to make their way from Scotland

into the Kingdom of Northumbria; and there is no missionary record that surpasses in picturesque beauty and glorious self-sacrifice the life of Aidan and Chadd, and the foundation of Lindisfarne.

I believe that the actual statistics can be produced, as Mr. Gladstone says, to show that more real and permanent work among the Saxons was accomplished by the Keltic, that is, by the Britons, than by the Italian missionaries—but that is a question by itself. It makes no difference whether we credit the conversion of the Saxons to Augustine and his followers or to the Kelts. We need not fear to give Gregory and Rome the glory. The Papal Dominion of Hildebrand and Innocent had not been founded in the year A. D. 596; and if all the Popes had been like Gregory, and if Rome had always been the Rome of Gregory, there would have been no rejection of the Roman name.

In the year 660 A. D. the Saxon Church had a varying prosperity in the Seven separate Kingdoms into which England was divided. It was virtually unorganized and inefficient. Its leaders were separated by sectional jealousies, and racial prejudices—Briton against Roman—and individual Bishops yielded themselves naturally to the whims of the Kings, to whom they happened to be subject. In 667 A. D., Theodore, a Greek,

of Tarsus in Cilicia, was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. He came to England in A. D. 668. He went immediately to work to organize the Church on national lines. He found dioceses identical with Kingdoms. There were no settled Clergy and no definite territorial subdivisions. He reformed all this, subdivided the dioceses, and consecrated a Bishop for each. He refused to recognize old British customs as distinct from Roman, and prohibited their champions from holding office in the Church. He made some mistakes, no doubt; but he was a great Archbishop, and to him more than to any other man the English Church owes its organization. Into every detail of worship and discipline his influence extended. If he did not invent, he certainly encouraged and extended the Parochial system. He held two national Councils—one at Hertford in A. D. 673, and one at Hatfield in A. D. 680—at the latter of which the decrees of the four General Councils were formally accepted. Thus the English Church became one for all the nation, with definite organization, at a time when, politically and socially, the people were divided into several Kingdoms. And thus the State of England did not originally establish the Church, but the Church established the State.

As Stubbs, the author of the Constitutional

History of England, says, "the Church in this respect is older than the State and formed the basis of the National union that followed." (See "Select Charters," etc., p. 10.)

The history of the Saxon period is little more than the story of the gradual growth one into the other of the Church and State of England. The Bishops were the leaders in both. English Churchmen became famous on the Continent. English Missionaries penetrated the German wilderness and gave their lives for Christ. English Monks built up great educational institutions at home from which went forth masters, like Alcuin, to lay the foundation, in the schools of Charlemagne, for the University system of Europe. During this three hundred years the Saxon Church developed its own spirit, its own laws, customs, doctrine and ritual. It was almost entirely free from any foreign influence. One of its Bishops—Dunstan—on a very public occasion openly repudiated a Papal sentence. It was in a wonderful and unique way a National Church, national in its comprehensiveness, for all Englishmen were members, as well as in its exclusiveness.

As Stubbs says, "The development of the Church was free and spontaneous. The use of the native tongue in prayers and sermons is continuous: the observance of native festivals also

and the reverence paid to Native Saints. If the stimulating force of foreign intercourse was wanting, the intensity with which the Church threw itself into the interest of the nation more than made up for what was lacking. The Church was the school and nursery of patriots—the depository of old traditional glories, and the refuge of the persecuted. Its liberty was the only form, in the evil days that followed, in which the traditions of the ancient freedom lingered, and the Church had its duty to educate the growing nation for its distant destiny as the teacher and herald of freedom to all the world.” (Constitut. Hist. v. I., p. 268.)

THE ANGLO-ROMAN PERIOD 1066 A. D.—1534 A. D.

More than nine generations separate the Church of Theodore from the Church of Anselm, and to the steadily strengthening spirit of national love and pride, the English Church owed much of her independence, and her restiveness under foreign dictation and influence during the period of the Norman rule.

Since the Council of Hatfield in A. D. 680, when the simple statement of the Ecumenical Councils was the sufficient standard of faith for the National Church, a great change had come over that Church at Rome, which was rightly

regarded as the Mother Church of Western Christendom. Charlemagne and Leo III. together had launched the idea of the Holy Roman Empire in the year 800 A. D., and jealousy for the glory of this fiction had now for two centuries enlisted all the efforts in power and craft of Popes and German Emperors. More and more it seemed that the Christian religion would itself be lost in the contest between secular tyranny and Ecclesiastical adroitness. As the power of the Emperors increased in material resources and concentration, the claims of the Bishops of Rome rose to meet and resist it. The Forged Decretals appeared in the ninth century. The appeal to the Donation of Constantine and the Sardican Canon was freely and recklessly made as early as the tenth century. And yet Rome declined. The Papacy itself was threatened with entire secularization and extinction as a spiritual power. The pitiful career of the debauched and lawless Theophylact, as Pope Benedict IX., seemed to be the last act in a tragedy wherein the Church died, and her authority went to a half barbarous Emperor and all her remaining piety to the Monastic Orders.

From this wreck of religion and morals, the Tuscan Monk, Hildebrand, rescued the Church on the Continent of Europe. His control of the Papacy began in 1048 A. D. with Leo IX., and

lasted through the reigns of four Popes until 1073 A. D., when he, himself, was ready for the Pontifical Chair. Hildebrand was a strong, eager, masterful character, wholly in earnest and wholly consecrated to one idea. On the ruins of the holy league of Charlemagne and Leo he built up and organized a great new secular dominion, guarded by spiritual sanctions, coining its own money, subsidizing its armies, protecting spiritual interests with secular penalties—a dominion compact, complete, tremendous, and destined to bring the whole of Western Christendom under its influence and control.¹ In A. D. 1054 the Ancient Greek Church was driven into schism by the terms of communion imposed upon it. The youth of the Emperor Henry encouraged the disregard of the Imperial authority. The enforced celibacy of the Clergy and the attack on the national Mozarabic liturgy of Spain, were parts of the great design, which gave the Papacy the unity of organization and the military precision, that sent legates plenipotentiary to every Court and held them absolutely subject to the authority at Rome.

These were the conditions under which William the Norman made his invasion into England, under the form of law and with the expressed

¹ See Phillimore, *International Law*, p. 53.

sanction of the Pope. The Norman Conquest extended both to Church and State. Every Saxon Bishop, with one exception, was deposed and his See given to a foreigner. The free Saxon Church of England became in name and government, not a sister as aforetime, but a subject to the Roman See. The history of the Anglo-Norman or Anglo-Roman Church corresponds almost precisely with the history of the decline and the revival of national feeling. As long as the Normans held Saxons in slavery and made the French language the language of the Court, and regarded England only as a temporary abiding place, so long did the Church of England appear to be a willing vassal of the Papacy. The record becomes confused with the conflicts of Roman Archbishops and Norman Sovereigns; and, as in the time of Theodore, the national idea found lodgment in the minds of Churchmen before it was realized by the Kings. King John, for example, was a foreigner, an alien, who was ready to surrender his crown and throne to an Italian Potentate; but Stephen Langton, Archbishop though he was, with the Papal Pallium—Stephen Langton, with the patriotic instinct of an Englishman who loved England and the English Church, was willing to defy, and did defy, a Papal sentence in order to wrest from John the

Magna Charta, the Charter of Ecclesiastical as well as of Civil liberty, and the first sentence in the Charter asserts the freedom of the Church of England. As a rule, however, we must look for the true national spirit in the lower Clergy and in the lower house of Convocation. The really Norman Kings and the foreign Ecclesiastics, who occupied English Bishoprics, representing the Pope, conspired to repress and subjugate the parochial Clergy. The new Mendicant Orders, also, independent emissaries of the Pope, were a continual menace to the Clergy and their influence. In many instances the Archbishops, fighting for the spiritual privileges of the Church against the royal tyranny, win our reluctant sympathy, even when they appeal to Rome to sustain them. It is hard to choose between Beckett and King Henry—although we know that Henry's victory, though temporary, was best for the Church in the end. We are drawn to Archbishop Anselm and we are disgusted with King Rufus, although we know that every advantage that Anselm gained was one more link in the chain that bound the Church to Rome.

Broadly, however, as we view it now, the trend of affairs was plain. The Roman rule was tried in England and it failed. Gradually the Clergy of England, the Bishops as well as others,

found that appeal to Rome was fruitless; that her power was worthless; that when she had the most abundant opportunity, the Curia was helpless to meet, to remedy, the evils of the time. Gradually the Norman Kings became English Kings, who spoke the English language and looked on England as their home. Thus the National spirit grew and strengthened. And with every increase of it the interest of the Church of England and the interest of the crown of England became a common cause against the foreigner. It was bound to be only a question of time when the ancient Saxon liberties and the ancient Saxon independence should reassert themselves, and the temporary and accidental bondage should be ended. So weak and politic, so subservient to the royal authority had the Court of Rome become in the thirteenth century, that, had it not been galvanized by the new theological disputes of that period, it would have ceased to act in England of its own incompetency. But the awakening hour was coming. Papal appeals and papal authority in England were doomed. The reign of Edward III. (1327-1377) marks a distinct epoch. For the first time the English language became recognized as the language of the Court. For the first time the Norman Kings became iden-

tified, in thought, in ambition, and interest with their English subjects.

In A. D. 1343 the introduction of Papal bulls was forbidden. In A. D. 1343 the agents of the Avignon Court were ignominiously driven out of England. In A. D. 1351 the act became a perpetual statute. In A. D. 1352 the purchasers of Papal Provisions were outlawed. In A. D. 1366 John Wiclif began his efforts for reform, which, whatever their defects, were for the English Bible and the English language; for the national and ecclesiastical independence of the English people. In A. D. 1392 nearly sixty English Prelates, representatives of both the secular and regular Clergy, voted unanimously with Parliament for the Praemunire statute ("Praemunire"—"prae-monere-facias," *i. e.*, Cause A. B. to be forewarned to appear and answer, etc.)—a statute that in its sweeping enactments against Rome, if strictly enforced, practically abolished the exercise by the Pope of any jurisdiction in England without the consent of the King. The Ecclesiastical condition of England, as regards the Papacy, during the thirty years at the close of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century was almost exactly the condition occupied by the Church during the reign of Henry VIII. after the fall of Wolsey. And it is an interesting co-

incidence that two great Masters of English Poetry flourished when the Church and Nation were free from foreign control. Chaucer closes the fourteenth century and Shakespeare the reign of Elizabeth.

Whatever may be said about it, the independence claimed and secured in the fourteenth century was the entering wedge of that Reform Movement which we are wont to refer to the reign of Henry VIII. The statute of Praemunire was never repealed. For a long period perhaps it was never used. It meant at least this much: the standing declaration on the statute book that the Papal control over England was utterly incompatible with the spirit, the life, the thought and hope of the English people. The English revolt from the Papacy really began in A. D. 1392.

THE PERIOD OF REFORM AND RECONSTRUCTION

The sixteenth century opens upon a new England. The efforts of the four Councils in the fourteenth century to reform the Church had been found fruitless. The only Pope who wanted reform, Adrian VI., had died suddenly, with significant mystery, and carried the hope away with him from the Papal Chair. The Pagan renaissance, with its classic intellectualism and moral selfishness, had begun to cultivate the spirit of Criticism. Martin Luther was studying at Erfurt,

preparing for his conversion to personal religion. The Wars of the Roses had destroyed the power of the Barons and had enlarged and increased the powers of the Crown. And England had a new King to wear the Crown—a young man, vigorous, active, strong, venturesome, courageous—one who snubbed the great Lords and trusted the people; who scattered the money in the royal treasury and kept no standing army; who outrode the huntsmen, outfenced the guards, and outargued the theologians; one who was dignified without effort, and yet who disarmed and defied opposition by the daring, reckless, jesting confidence of power. The Eighth Henry will fill any canvas. Modern historians have tried again and again to reduce him to the measure of some ordinary human mold, but they have failed egregiously. Froude loved him to admiration, Stubbs declines to judge him. Smaller writers make themselves ridiculous in trying to defame him. In all the qualities that go to make the natural man, he towers head and shoulders above his royal contemporaries. He had no predecessor in England except the Conqueror and no successor except his own Elizabeth. As late as 1519 A. D. so keen a critic as Erasmus does not hesitate to write of him as “the fine soldier, keen in counsel, strict in admiration, careful in the choice of his min-

isters, anxious for the peace of the world—a King fit to bring back the golden age, the intelligence of whose country will preserve the memory of his virtues, and scholars will tell how a King once reigned there who in his own person revived the virtues of the ancient heroes.” (Letters of Erasmus.)

But his great qualities were the qualities of the natural man—and he showed all the strength and all the weakness of Esau’s character. His dominant passion was power—his chief characteristic was inflexible resolution and self-will; his mortal sin was not lust but pride. He was a lion, Sir Thomas Moore said, “whose ferocity would increase with the awakening consciousness of his power.”

What did the English Church owe to Henry in its effort to reform? Well, Henry found the laws on the statute book which for more than an hundred years had repudiated the Papal interference in English affairs and declared the emissaries of the Pope to be outlaws and felons. He found the people and the Clergy too, ready to revolt against Rome. He found the records of the nation even in Saxon times upholding the royal power against all foreign interference. He found the ablest men in England, both laymen and ecclesiastics, full of the new learning and

clamoring for reform. He had heard his own intimate friend, the great Dean Colet, preach again and again, deploring the abuses of the time. Evidently with such conditions and such a King, all that was needed was a spark to light the fire to hurl the Church and country into revolution. The wonder is, and Henry's claim to admiration is, that the revolution, when it came, was so well controlled.

The immediate cause of Henry's quarrel with the Pope was the question of the annulment of his marriage was Katharine. Henry never asked for a divorce. He maintained that the marriage from the beginning had been invalid. The subject need not detain us long. The fact that a King, who had grown tired of his wife, six years older than himself, after sixteen years of wedlock, demanded a release from the contract, on the ground that the marriage had been at the outset a direct violation of the Church's law, varnished over by a Pope's decree—this is not very wonderful or unusual. The subsequent proceedings are less creditable if anything to the Pope than to Henry. Clement refused to grant the divorce, not on any religious or moral ground, but for fear of Katharine's nephew, Charles, Emperor of Germany. It was an evil and unjust thing, so to humble a faithful wife and Queen—divorces

are always evil things; but when we come to give our verdict we shall have to nail our sentence at the door of that Roman Court which first began to trifle with the Church's law that guarded the marriage bond.

Henry believed in himself, and in the affections of his people—that new middle class that made his throne secure. The lion more and more realized, as he was forced to test his power. Henry was a playful tyrant. His moral scrupulosity is striking. He was ever singularly respectful to the law. No act of his can be named that did not at least have the form of precedent. It was the law of *praemunire* that he used to ruin Wolsey and to frighten the reluctant members of Convocation and Parliament to submission. It was by legal precedents that the monasteries were dissolved. It was by law that his wives were put away or condemned to death. It was by ancient statute that the title of Supreme Head of the Church was defended and sustained. Every article of the Catholic Faith was jealously maintained, and the very Act that repudiated the Pope's jurisdiction recited the precedents of the councils of the Catholic Church. No step was taken in spiritual matters without the formal consent of Convocation, the Church's council. And it ought to be said, that, while the Emperor of Germany

was busy issuing doctrinal statements and exploiting his theological learning, Henry left doctrine to his Bishops, only taking care that it was not in conflict with the Roman faith.

For Henry never for one moment thought that he was less a son of Rome in his spiritual faith and hope, because he happened to rebel against Papal jurisdiction. There had been Kings of France and Germany, and of England too, who had done as much as he did, e.g., Frederick II. and Philip IV. He had no sympathy with Lutheranism. He wanted no new system of religion. He did not even oppose or deny the spiritual authority of the Pope. He wanted to have his own way in his own kingdom, and he got what he wanted. He invented an impossible regime, that has been aptly called "Popery without a Pope." Indirectly, however, and unwittingly, he paved the way for the reformation that succeeded.

Stubbs' characterization of Henry is the best that has yet been written. He says, "I do not believe him to have been a monster of lust and blood as so many Roman Catholic writers regard him. He was not abnormally profligate; in this region of morality he was not better perhaps than Charles V., but he was much better than Francis I. and Philip II. and Henry IV. I seem to see in him a grand, gross figure, very far removed from

ordinary human sympathies; self-engrossed, self-confident, self-willed, unscrupulous in act, violent and crafty, justifying to himself by his belief in himself, both unscrupulousness, violence and craft. And with all this, as needs must have been, a very unhappy man, wretched in his family, wretched in his loneliness—that awful loneliness in which a King lives, and which the worst as well as the best of despots realize. Have I drawn the outline of a monster? Well, perhaps; but not the popular notion of this particular portent: A strong, high-spirited, ruthless, disappointed, solitary creature—a thing to hate, or to pity, or to smile at, or to shudder at, or to wonder at, but not to judge.” (Lectures, p. 81.)

What then did Henry VIII. do for the Church of England?

Well, he threw the Church on herself, compelled her to realize her independence, her autonomy. He emphasized and accentuated the national idea. He made it possible for English Bishops and laymen to undertake great changes in doctrinal and ritual matters without fearing or regarding foreign approval or disapproval. Above all, in a time of vast upheavals—of war and bloodshed, of deadly struggles and savage riots—Henry VIII. had the judgment, the tact, the popularity and power with his subjects to hold

in check partisan and fanatical movements, and during fifteen years of religious unrest and change, to keep the institutions of the Church and the Church itself from ruin. As Cardinal Manning once said, and historical facts do not change with the change of religion, "The Crown and Church of England, with a steady opposition, resisted the entrance and encroachment of the secularized ecclesiastical power of the Pope in England. The last rejection of it was no more than a successful effort after many a failure in struggles of like kind. And it was an act taken by men who were sound, according to Roman doctrines, on all other points."²

When Henry VIII. died, in 1546, the net results of the twelve years movement were:

(1) The Papal Power in England was destroyed and the Church of England was declared competent to administer her own affairs. The Headship of the King was accepted with the qualifying phrase, "So far as the law of Christ will allow";

(2) The continuity of the Episcopate was kept without a break;

(3) The Bible was printed in English and commanded to be read in all the churches;

² Manning, *Unity of the Church*, p. 296.

(4) The Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments were printed in English, and recited slowly in Church so that the people could memorize them, and school-masters had to teach them to the children ;

(5) Superstitious image-worship and pilgrimages were forbidden. And all this was prefaced by the words of the Statute, "we do not intend to decline or vary from the Catholic Faith of Christendom."

Thus it happened that the first blow for freedom was struck in the reign of Henry, but it was more than an hundred years before the readjustment of her doctrinal and ritual system to the changed conditions of her life was completed. The history of that readjustment is the history of constitutional liberty; it is marked by ebbs and flows, by foreign influence and dissension, by political complications, by heroisms and martyrdoms, but the result was worth it all. After the reign of Edward had given the Prayer Book and had taught the dangerous tendency of foreign influence towards fanatical disintegration, and after the brief and morbid reaction under Mary had burnt the hatred of Rome and Roman methods into the hearts of the people, it would have seemed that the wise moderation of Elizabeth's policy would have settled the disputes forever.

Her accession was marked immediately by the public assertion of the historic continuity from the past of the Church of the English people from the time of Joseph of Arimathea—by the emphatic definition of the Church's spiritual character as distinct from state control, and by the endorsement of that reform in doctrine and practice, for which the Roman Church herself was striving and which the people at large had come to understand and approve. Of 9,000 Clergy in England at her accession only 189 refused to conform to the revised system of worship. For eleven years there was peace and harmony and progress.

Robert Parsons, the celebrated Jesuit (1593) makes one of his characters say, "I do well remember the first dozen years of her Highness' reign: how happy, how pleasant, how quiet they were, with all manner of comfort and consolation. There was no mention then of factions in religion; neither was any man much noted or rejected for that cause, so otherwise his conversation was civil and courteous. No suspicion of treason, no talk of bloodshed, no complaint of troubles, miseries, or vexations. All was peace, all was love, all was joy, all was delight."

There was, according to William Watson, the Roman Catholic priest (1602), one of her bitter-

est enemies, "No talk of treasons or conspiracies, no jealousies nor suspicions, no envy nor supplantations, no fear of murdering, nor massacring, no question of conscience or religion. But all lived in great content and right good fellowship was amongst them." (Ingram "England and Rome," p. 250.)

That peace was broken by the Pope's Bull, Pius V., 1570, which excommunicated the Queen, declared the throne vacant, absolved her subjects from all allegiance, duty and obedience, and incited them to rebellion, and plunged the land into a storm of plots, conspiracies, homicides, sacrilege, and assassination, which made Pope Urban VIII. himself declare in A. D. 1641 that "he bewailed with 'tears of blood' the conduct of his predecessors of the sixteenth century towards England and her people."

The author of all religious discord in England was foreign influence. The disciples of Calvin were not slow to follow the subjects of Pope Pius into dissent and rebellion. Puritanism, at first a distinctly personal following of Calvin and Zwinglius, was quite as much of a foreign movement as the Italian influences operating from Rome. Both were attacks upon the national character and constitution of the Church. Both attempted with varying success to destroy the na-

tional idea, that had been the safeguard and glory of religion in England since the time of Theodore.

The original puritanism practically died out in Elizabeth's reign. Cartwright, the founder of English Presbyterianism, and Browne, the founder of Congregationalism, returned to and died in the Communion of the English Church.

The new Puritanism of the seventeenth century was first of all a political movement in which good men and loyal Churchmen, fighting for ancient liberties, found themselves swept away by the champions of a religious fanaticism, whose first principle of faith contradicted the very idea of constitutional liberty. Whatever were the faults of Laud, and he certainly was human, there is no doubt, as Professor Rawson Gardiner says (*History of England*, v. II., p. 64), that his theological position was essentially that of Hooker, and Cranmer, and there is no doubt that the old man laid down his life in protest and defiance against a conception of religion that would have chained the English Church forever under the iron yoke of Calvinism—a conception of religion, which we universally repudiate to-day as contradictory of the truth, the genuineness, the brightness of the English character. The "streak of intellectual vulgarity," as Matthew Arnold calls it, which runs through Macaulay's *History* has

utterly misrepresented the character and purpose and life of William Laud.

Into the political movements of the reigns of James and Charles I. and Cromwell we need not enter. The Church of England came out of the furnace of affliction with her continuity unbroken and her faith defined and her spirit chastened and purified. The character of the Church in the early years of Queen Anne's reign vindicated all her previous history. The learning of her great divines and the frequency and dignity of her services, the breadth and freshness and freedom of her outward life, her missionary zeal, and her works of charity and education, gained for her the honor and veneration of Christians of every name.

In A. D. 1717, DuPin, Head of the Theological College of the Sorbonne, and other leaders of the Church of France, whose national spirit had chafed and fretted under the Papal Rule for at least six hundred years, and who had talked of reformation before it was begun in England, despairing of any self-respecting alliance with Rome, made overtures for union with the English Church on the common ground of loyalty to the Catholic faith and constitution, with reservation of national independence. (See Hore "Eighteen Centuries," etc., p. 493.) So, also, in 1706 A. D.

Frederick I. of Prussia, with the advice and assistance of many of the ablest men in his Kingdom, both Clergymen and laymen, among whom Leibnitz was conspicuous, formally proposed union between German Protestants and the Church of England, practically on the ground proposed in the so-called Quadrilateral of A. D. 1886. The Germans expressed their willingness to receive the Episcopate. The Prayer Book was translated into the German language; and much enthusiasm was manifested in England over this great step towards the reunion of Christendom. Political complications, however, and the deaths of the prominent leaders prevented either of these movements from producing any practical results. Yet the facts may be taken as clear evidence of the true insight of DeMaistre's prophecy, that if reunion shall ever be accomplished, it will be through the mediation of the Church of England.

The eighteenth century proved to be, in some respects worse for the Church than any she had before lived through. That very national idea, which had been her glory from the time of Theodore, became, in the union of Church and State under new conditions, a hindrance and menace to her life. When the Hanoverian Kings, who like the early Norman Kings could not even speak English, found that they could not coerce

Churchmen into Erastianism, they took away freedom of speech and suppressed Convocation, the Church's Council, for over one hundred years. This was the period of triumphant infidelity, which created the reason for, and in its reaction, the inspiration of Methodism. Yet the Church was capable without foreign influence or aid of renewal and reform within herself. The Evangelical revival of A. D. 1780 and the Oxford Movement (A. D. 1833) have multiplied her activities and proved her power. Her very trials and her recovery from them have demonstrated under God her spiritual claims. Moreover she has demonstrated that she is a "fruit-tree yielding fruit, whose seed is in itself" (Gen. 1:11): for in A. D. 1784 Samuel Seabury was consecrated the first Bishop for the Church in the United States of America, and in the course of one hundred and thirty years this American daughter has grown from a mere handful to more than one million communicants and quite three million adherents.

So the Church of England has seen the great principles which she stood for, principles which have been too often obscured and rendered ineffectual by her misfortune of state connection, these principles she has seen take root and flourish in a new land, among a new people, under changed

conditions, and she has not failed to learn a lesson from it. It was only a few years ago that the Archbishop of Canterbury, asserting authority which had been unused for centuries, at once and forever repudiated, on behalf of his Order, secular control, by either Crown or Court, over the discharge of his spiritual office, and set at rest forever the question as to the meaning of the Sovereign's relation to the English Church. The Church of England has learned something from this American daughter. To-day they stand together—in mutual love and sympathy—in the bonds of mutual service, holding forth to English-speaking Christians of every name the ideal of our Saxon forefathers; the ideal which is consecrated to us all by the memories and traditions of the greatest of our race; the ideal which shines dimly and imperfectly perhaps through the mist of so many tears, so much dissension: and, God help us, so much disunion among English-speaking Christians: and yet, the ideal which, in its rough outline and fundamental principles, is still set forth in that Church, which preserves the same faith, the same sacraments, the same ministry, the same worship, which Theodore maintained at Hatfield, A. D. 680, and Stephen Langton defended at Runnymede, A. D. 1215. She maintains the constitutional system of free Church

Government, secured primarily in the succession of her Bishops, as in the days of Cyprian, A. D. 258, and Athanasius, A. D. 325, and Gregory the Great, A. D. 596.

She stands to-day a worthy witness to the truths for which she has contended. She retains a foremost place in the Reformed Christian world. Her learning has not diminished, and her resolute hopefulness has not declined. Her missionary activities have been enlarged. Her practical charities are multiplied. Her reverence for the great past has not checked her outlook for the greater future. She has kept abreast of liberty and progress and yet has never for a moment hesitated in her hold on the Catholic faith. The principles for which she stands and has stood are still the permanent safeguards of our Christian civilization. She holds before men the Church idea, that is the Social idea, the idea of Plato, Aristotle, and St. Paul, as the only satisfaction of the longing for universal brotherhood and the only hope of Christ's conquest of the world. She believes in authority as not inconsistent with true freedom, in liberty without license, and law without despotism. She exhorts her people to the practical duties of the Christian life in a spirit of confidence, sustained and fostered by sacramental and solemn services, and not by emphasis

put upon feeling at the expense of conscience. She trusts more to sober training in religion than to passionate upheavals. She comes to men, not to court popularity by adapting herself to their natural instincts and prejudices, but to reform and uplift them, and to give them something above the measure of their ordinary taste and temperament, and to furnish them with an ideal to follow. She believes in the solemn splendor of worship, the chaste dignity of her liturgy, the inspiration of all true art, and the culture of all true education. Above all she makes little of the metaphysical doctrinal definitions that have vexed and divided Christendom during the past three hundred years, believing that Christianity is first of all a life, an institution, and that the life is more than meat and the body is more than raiment.

The maintenance of these principles was worth the sufferings of Parker and the martyrdom of Laud. They were great enough to demand and deserve the patient waiting of our American forefathers—so great and fruitful, that in spite of misconception and distrust, they have taken root in this new land, and, freed from the restraint of State connection and Royal interference, they have become, even to those who at first revolted from them, a great and growing factor in our permanent national life.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

- (1) Its History
- (2) The Reformation which produced it
- (3) The needs which it supplied

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER



THE Book of Common Prayer is, in one aspect of it, the creation of the dawning democracy of the English-speaking people. It takes rank with King James' version of the Bible as one of the two noblest achievements of English literature. It enshrines the faith, the hope, the worship which five generations of Englishmen—through one hundred and twenty-five stormy years—planned and wrought and sacrificed to establish, as the Anglican interpretation of Christianity. For these reasons, among others, the Prayer Book is the common inheritance, and should be the pride, of all English-speaking Christians—as it is certainly a literary and religious memorial of such surpassing interest and value that no true culture can afford to neglect it. To be ignorant of the history and contents of the Book of Common Prayer is hardly less barbarous than to be unfamiliar with the English Bible and the works of Shakespeare.

And, therefore, a body of literature has been created as to the sources and meaning and purpose of the Prayer Book, unsurpassed for learning

and eloquence, by great writers—lawyers, statesmen, and ecclesiastics—and, to quote Dr. J. H. Benton's admirable monograph,¹ "those who know it best love it best." "It has profoundly influenced not only the moral, but the intellectual, social, and political life of England and of the world." "It has affected diplomacy and statesmanship. It has gone wherever the English language has gone and has been translated also into nearly all the written languages of the world. Its history is part of the warp and woof of the history of the English people and nation, which no one can understand who does not know its story." It has been twice proscribed by law, all copies of it ordered to be destroyed and its use in public or private devotions made a crime; but it has, with few substantial alterations, remained unchanged in its original English form for three hundred and sixty years.

The Christian Church has always used a liturgy. St. Luke describes the first Christians as continuing in "*the prayers*," and the New Testament abounds in references to the participation of the people in the forms of public worship, many of which they inherited from the Jewish Church.

¹ *The Book of Common Prayer.* J. H. Benton, LL.D.

From the beginning the central service was the service of the Holy Communion, known as the Liturgy Proper, and the daily offices were based on that.

The liturgies of Christendom may be grouped under four heads, viz.: the Liturgy of St. James, the Liturgy of St. Mark, the Liturgy of St. Peter, and the Liturgy of St. John—all of which are still in use in the historic churches of the world—and all of them are of Eastern origin, because, as you know, Christianity is an Eastern religion and the Greek language was its original vehicle for intellectual and devotional expression. The Roman Church, using the Latin language, is a later development. The Roman Christians of the first century spoke Greek, and the early Popes were not Italians but Greeks. The very name “Pope” is a Greek word—a common title to this day given to every pastor in the Eastern Church. (Stanley.)²

A combination of circumstances, which I shall not take the time to explain in this lecture, made the Mediaeval Church in the West—certainly from A. D. 1054 to A. D. 1518—a close corporation, in which the laity had little part, except to obey orders and submit. Worship for the layman was a formal attendance upon a ceremonial conducted

² See Dr. Hart’s admirable volume, *The Book of Common Prayer*.

by the priests, in their own way and in a language virtually unknown to any but themselves. As for the daily prayers, the clergy had an entire monopoly of them, and not all the clergy—only the regulars, or members of religious orders—observed them faithfully. The comparative isolation of England gave to its Church an unique independence of development, and even in the period of the Pope's most autocratic supremacy, the *Ecclesia Anglicana*—i.e., the English Church—was recognized in the public law as an independent institution. In 1085 A. D. a great Bishop of Salisbury put forth a service book peculiarly English and un-Roman, known as the book of Sarum, but of course, it was not in English, because at that time the English language had not reached a literary form. The *Magna Charta*, our charter of liberty, in 1215, which was wrung from King John, and in open defiance of the Pope, begins with the demand that the Church of England shall have her rights entire and her liberties uninjured. All through the early history of the Anglo-Saxon Church there were sporadic attempts to give the people translations of the Bible in the common tongue and to popularize the service of the Church by putting it into a language "understood of the people." These service books were called "Prymers," and have been described as "The Lay

Folks Prayer Books." They contained some of the psalms and a litany, but none of the priests' or Bishops' Offices, nor any of the directions for the conduct of worship, and they were all in manuscript, because there was no printed book in England until A. D. 1474.

The last quarter of the fifteenth century is one of the great epochs in the history of mankind. It witnessed the revival of Greek learning, and through Greek learning, the return to the study of the primitive truth of Christianity. So it was said, when Erasmus' first edition of the New Testament was published in 1516, "Greece rose from the dead with the New Testament in her right hand." It witnessed the invention of printing, the use of the mariner's compass, the discovery of America, and, we may say, the birth of Martin Luther. The whole Western world waked up and began a revolution, of which the religious movement, called the Reformation, was one manifestation. Council after council had met in the fifteenth century to reform ecclesiastical abuses, but all of them were dominated and strangled by Rome. Then in 1517 Luther issued his challenge. In 1520 he was excommunicated by the Pope, and one of his fiercest enemies was the young and popular King of England, Henry VIII. It looked at first as if Henry would use his extraor-

dinary popularity and power to stamp out the new movement in England, for he was a special friend of Rome. The Pope had over-ridden the Church's written law and given Henry a special dispensation to marry his brother's widow. He had also conferred a new title upon Henry and proclaimed him as "Defender of the Faith."

It was an astounding event, therefore, to the men of that time, when this "Pet of the Papacy" resented the new Pope's refusal to permit him to put away his wife, as he said, "because of conscientious scruples," and encouraged the Reformation movement in England, in order to spite the Pope. Henry played a political game for his own personal ends, but to the last his religious convictions were hostile to the Reformation. During the later years of his reign he tried to check the movement, but it was too late. The independence of the Church of England had become an accomplished fact. The Bible had been given to the people in English, and the Litany and other parts of the public service, and there was a widespread and earnest demand for further reformation.

Henry died January 28, 1547, and his son succeeded him as Edward VI.

In December of that year a parliamentary Act was passed authorizing the administration of the Holy Communion in both kinds, and a ser-

vice book of the Holy Communion in the English language was issued in March, 1548. Archbishop Cranmer and "other discreet Bishops and Divines" were set to work, by order of the king, to prepare a Book of Common Prayer, and this book, having been debated and adopted in the Church Convocation and afterwards in Parliament after long discussion, was set forth and established for common use on January 21, 1549.

There can be no doubt that this book—known as the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.—represented and expressed the convictions of the vast majority of clergy and people of the Church of England. But it was too conservative for the extreme reformers, who had meantime been reinforced by immigrants from the Protestant sections of Continental Europe, and so in 1552 a revised Prayer Book was set forth by authority, which included the Ordinal, that is, the "form and manner of making and consecrating Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons," which had existed before, but was made part of the Prayer Book at this time. This second Prayer Book of Edward VI. changed the sentence to be used in the administration of the Communion from "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life," to "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ

died for thee and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving"; and also inserted the Black Rubric, as it was called, which explained that the kneeling posture at the Communion did not imply worship of the physical elements. The worst defect of this second Prayer Book was the omission of the Office for the Anointing of the Sick, which was part of the First Prayer Book and was a legitimate return to the practice of the early Church, as contrasted with the custom of Extreme Unction, which was not for the purpose of restoring men to health, but of preparing them for death. I cannot but believe that we would have been saved from some modern follies of faith-healing if this old office had been retained in our Prayer Book.

Queen Mary succeeded Edward VI. and for five years the Prayer Book was proscribed and every effort was made to stamp out the reform movement. But the flames of the three hundred fires that burned Englishmen for their faith only served to refine and purify English Churchmanship and clear men's minds as to the essential and everlasting issues.

When Elizabeth succeeded Mary in the autumn of 1558, the Prayer Book and the Reformation were at once restored, and of 9,400 clergymen in England only about 189 refused to conform. The

methods of Cardinal Pole and Queen Mary had cured the English people forever of any love for the Italian ecclesiastical dominion.

The Prayer Book set forth under Elizabeth was substantially the second Book of Edward VI. with the omission of the Black Rubric and the addition of the form of administration in the first Book, giving us the double sentence which we use to-day. And this Book was the common devotional handbook of Englishmen during that long reign of forty-five years.

Unfortunately two classes of obstructionists had arisen. First, the Puritans, and second, the Sectarians or Dissenters. The first dissenters were the Roman Catholics, who had used the Prayer Book and enjoyed it with all its offices for baptism, burial, and Holy Communion for eleven years, but were forced by the Pope's excommunication of Elizabeth (A. D. 1569) to form themselves into a separate sect. Then some of the Puritans organized under a Presbyterian polity, and the Independents or Congregationalists followed their example. The great majority of the Puritans remained in the Church, conforming with more or less fidelity to the order of service, but desiring what we would call a "converted membership" and a nearer approach to the Calvinistic conception of religion. It was in defer-

ence to the Puritan demands for change that King James I. held a conference with men of all parties at Hampton Court, 1604; but the discussion for the most part was on technical and trivial issues and the Prayer Book was unchanged, except by the addition of the questions on the Sacraments in the Catechism. One great result of the conference, however, was that an order was issued by the King for the translation of the Bible from the original tongues, and this gave us the version of 1611.

King James died in 1625 and was succeeded by his son Charles I. during whose troublous reign the Puritans and Presbyterians succeeded in overthrowing the Church of England. Archbishop Laud and King Charles were both beheaded, and on January 3, 1645, the Book of Common Prayer was proscribed by Act of Parliament, all copies of it were ordered to be burnt, and the use of it, in public or in private, in the Church or at family prayers, was punished by fine and imprisonment. A so-called directory was substituted for it, in which, among other things, it was ordered that when persons died their bodies should be buried without any ceremony whatever, without either prayer or music.

For sixteen years this gloomy and terrible religion prevailed, and the clergy and laity, who had

learned to love the Prayer Book and its services, were hunted and persecuted. How they learned the Book by heart and kept up the prayers is delightfully told by Isaak Walton in his life of Bishop Sanderson.

Charles II. came to the throne in 1660, and immediately the Prayer Book was restored to use. The next year, at the Savoy Conference, the Puritans and the leaders of the Church had their final discussion as to the changes in the Prayer Book that were deemed absolutely necessary by the non-conformists; but it was found that the system of the Church and that of the Puritans were so irreconcilable that one communion could not hold them both. A thorough review of the Prayer Book was made at this time; it was carefully edited; in the prayer for the Church in the Communion Office, as Dr. Hart says, an explicit oblation and a commemoration of the departed were inserted; the Black Rubric was restored with an important change in its phraseology—"corporal" being substituted for "real and essential" in the description of the Presence—a few concessions to the Puritans, such as giving the Epistles and Gospels in the last translation, were made. The other changes were merely editorial, and the Prayer Book of 1662 has been the standard for two hundred and fifty years.

In order to understand the situation more clearly I shall mention a few of the other changes desired by the Puritans. They made three preliminary declarations, viz:³

(1) They agreed to the Episcopal government of the Church, provided it was not too autocratic;

(2) They strongly asserted the necessity of a written Liturgy for public worship;

(3) They objected to all ceremonies because they were not acceptable to the Continental Protestants.

As to the Prayer Book they objected:

(1) To the whole practice of responsive worship, whether in prayers or chants or litanies, and to the recitation of the Confession by the people or any other prayer. They held that one long prayer by the minister was more edifying, and that "amen" said by the people was enough—the minister being their spokesman or mouth-piece. They opposed the idea of a Common Prayer in which the laity took part. They objected to the delivery of the elements to the people one by one.

(2) They objected to the sign of the cross, the use of the ring and the surplice, and all such ritual accessories.

(3) They objected to the liberality of the

³ See Cardwell's *Conferences*, pp. 303-335.

Prayer Book in praying for "*all* who travel"; in saying that all baptized infants dying before Confirmation and Communion are undoubtedly saved; calling all baptized children "regenerate"; to the generalities of the Confession which ought to go more into particulars; to the prayer in the Burial Office that "when we depart this life, we may rest in Him, as our hope is this our brother doth"; and to the use of the word "Sunday" instead of Lord's Day.

(4) They objected to Sponsors in Baptism on the ground that any profession of faith on the part of the child, even through its parents or guardians, might encourage the heresy of the Anabaptists, who insisted on faith before Baptism.

The replies of the Bishops to these objections were at considerable length, and the substance was:

(1) We do not propose to surrender our whole liturgical inheritance from the Catholic Church of history, nor the immemorial traditions of Catholic usage, in order to please the new, individual tastes and preferences of a certain extreme party of people in this age.

(2) If any phrase or use of custom authorized in the Prayer Book can be shown to be contrary to Holy Scripture or the teaching of the primitive Church, we shall gladly change it, but not otherwise.

The first use of the Prayer Book within the present limits of the United States appears to have been in 1579, when the chaplain of Sir Francis Drake read prayers at the time of a landing on the Pacific Coast near San Francisco, and a Prayer Book Cross has been erected to mark the spot. The first permanent settlement of English Churchmen was at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, thirteen years before the Puritans landed on Plymouth Rock. The services of the Prayer Book were regularly used at Jamestown at the beginning, and have been continuous ever since, although for 177 years the colonists had no Bishops to minister to them, and the offices for ordination and confirmation were practically unknown. It is amazing, when we think of it, that such a maimed and headless Church could ever have survived, and yet it was the Prayer Book—the sane and noble and lofty spiritual idealism of the Prayer Book—which held the allegiance and moulded the character of the majority of those great Americans who accomplished the Revolution and founded the Republic. Two-thirds of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and quite two-thirds of the men who adopted the Constitution, had been brought up in the use of the Book of Common Prayer.

As soon as the Revolution had been accom-

plished Churchmen met together for complete organization. The people of Connecticut elected Samuel Seabury Bishop and sent him across the sea to be consecrated; and he, finding that the legal changes necessary to his consecration in England, had not yet been made, went to Scotland and received his Episcopal authority from the Scotch Bishops. Meanwhile there had been meetings in various places; and a Convention from seven States, held in Philadelphia, had appointed a Committee on the Prayer Book, which, of course, had to be adapted to the new political conditions. This committee prepared and reported a Revised Prayer Book, which was so radical in its concessions to extreme Protestantism and to infidelity, that it was generally obnoxious to Churchmen everywhere, and was virtually ignored in the proceedings of the first General Convention of the whole Church, which met in Philadelphia in the fall of 1789. The American Prayer Book was adopted at that Convention, and it contained a very dignified and thoughtful Preface, in which the general reasons, political and other, are given for the changes that seemed expedient, and the principle is stated that in these changes, "this Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship: or further than local

circumstances require.” Some concessions were made in the American Book to local conditions and prejudices, which may seem to us to have been unnecessary, as for example, the permission to omit the sign of the cross in Baptism, but they did no harm. Every man, who knows the history of it, is glad that the Athanasian Creed (so-called) was omitted, and the Black Rubric with it. In recent years we have restored the *Magnificat* and the longer *Benedictus*, and have made ample provision for shortened services. But incomparably the greatest gain of the American Revision—which reduces all other changes to insignificance—was the adoption, with a single modification, of the Scotch form of the Prayer of Consecration, with an explicit Oblation and an explicit Invocation of the Holy Spirit—which allies us with the Greek Church and conforms to the most ancient liturgies of Christendom.

I venture to give, in conclusion, two quotations from writers on the Prayer Book, which seem to be of exceptional interest and value. The first is from the late Professor Shields of Princeton University, professor in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary. He says:

“The English Liturgy, next to the English Bible, is the most wonderful product of the Reformation. The very fortunes of the book

are the romance of history. As we trace its development, its rubrics seem dyed in the blood of martyrs; its offices echo with polemic phrases; its canticles mingle with the battle-cries of armed sects and factions; and its successive revisions mark the career of dynasties, states, and churches. Cavalier, Covenantant, and Puritan have crossed their swords over it; scholars and soldiers, statesmen and Churchmen, Kings and Commoners, have united in defending it. England, Germany, Geneva, Scotland, and America have by turns been the scene of its conflicts. Far beyond the little island which was its birth-place, its influence has been silently spreading in connection with great political and religious changes, generation after generation, from land to land, even where its name was never heard. . . . It would be strange if a work which thus has its roots in the past, should not be sending forth its branches into the whole Church of the future; and anyone who will take the pains to study its present adaptations, whatever may have been his prejudices, must admit that there is no other extant formulary which is so well fitted to become the rallying-point and standard of modern Christendom. In it are to be found the means—possibly the germs—of a just reorganization of Protestantism, as well as an ulti-

mate reconciliation with true Catholicism—such a Catholicism as shall have shed everything sectarian and national, and retained only what is common to the whole Church of Christ in all ages and countries. Whilst to the true Protestant it offers Evangelical doctrine, worship, and unity, on the terms of the Reformation, it still preserves for the true Catholic, the choicest formulas of antiquity, and to all Christians of every name opens a liturgical system at once scriptural and reasonable, doctrinal and devotional, learned and vernacular, artistic and spiritual. It is not too much to say, that were the problem given, to frame out of the imperfectly organized and sectarian Christianity of our times a liturgical model for the Communion of Saints in the one universal Church, the result might be expressed in some such compilation as the English Book of Common Prayer.”

The second quotation is from Edmund Clarence Stedman’s *Nature of Poetry*, pp. 281-283. He says:

“Upon its literary and constructive side, I regard the venerable Liturgy of the Historic Christian Church as one of the few World-Poems—Poems Universal. I care not which of its rituals you follow, the Oriental, the Alexandrian, the Latin, or the Anglican. The lat-

ter, that of the Episcopal Prayer Book, is a version familiar to you of what seems to me the most wonderful symphonic idealization of human faith—certainly the most inclusive—blending in harmonic succession all the cries and longings of the universal human heart invoking a paternal Creator. . . . I have in mind its human quality; the mystic tide of human hope, imagination, prayer, sorrows, and passionate expression, upon which it bears the worshipper along, and wherewith it has sustained men's souls with conceptions of Deity and immortality through hundreds, yes thousands, of undoubting years. . . . It has been a growth, an exhalation, an apocalyptic cloud arisen, with the prayer of the Saints, from the climes of the Hebrew, the Greek, the Roman, the Goth, to spread in time over half the world. It is the voice of human brotherhood, the blended voice of rich and poor, old and young, the wise and the simple, the statesman and the clown; the brotherhood of an age, which knowing little, comprehended little, and could have no refuge save trust in the oracles, through which a just and merciful Protector, a Pervading Spirit, a Living Mediator and Consoler, had been revealed. . . . Its prayers are not only for all sorts and conditions of men, but for every stress

of life in which mankind must feel in common—in the household or isolated, or in tribal or national effort, and in calamity and repentance and thanksgiving. Its wisdom is forever old and perpetually new; its calendar celebrates all seasons of the rolling year; its narrative is of the simplest, the most pathetic, the most rapturous and ennobling life, the world has ever known. There is no malefactor so wretched, no just man so perfect, as not to find his hope, his consolation, his lesson, in this poem of poems. I have called it lyrical; it is dramatic in structure and effect; it is an epic of the age of faith; but in fact as a piece of inclusive literature, it has no counterpart and can have no successor.”

THE PRAYER BOOK

AS A PRODUCT OF THE REFORMATION



HAVE shown in the previous lecture, that the Book of Common Prayer was a product of the Reformation movement, and that this movement in England extended over a long period of one hundred and twenty-seven years—from the abolition of the Papal Supremacy in 1534 to the Savoy Conference in 1661.

In this present lecture I shall try to show what the Reformation movement was, what caused it, and how in the largest perspective it ought to be judged. As the whole organization of human society was affected, and the civilized human race itself changed its point of view, during those years of controversy and tumult, we must be prepared to find the subject complicated and difficult to analyze.

However, by studying the Reformation under three aspects—Political, Intellectual, and Religious—we may reach a more comprehensive and a wiser and fairer understanding of it.

I. Politically, the Reformation may be said to

have been the revolt of the National spirit against the programme of Universal Empire, which Charlemagne and Pope Leo had launched in the year 800. For six hundred and fifty years the people of Europe had been treated as pawns in the great game which the German Emperor played with the Roman Popes, each claiming superiority. The Pope conceived of himself as the only Vicar of Christ on earth and of all other earthly sovereigns as related to himself, as the moon to the sun, shining by reflected light. The Emperor was supposed to be an advocate or defender of the Papacy, whose duty it was to keep peace, to hold the clergy and people in obedience, and to punish heretics and schismatics. The Emperor's power, analogous to that of the Pope's, was universal, and his quasi-ecclesiastical character entitled him to be arrayed on occasion in ecclesiastical vestments; for as Bryce says, "The Holy Roman Church and the Holy Roman Empire were one and the same thing, in two aspects."¹ For about two hundred years the Crusades furnished at least the appearance of a common work, which checked the growth of the national consciousness, but little by little different languages, different temperaments, different geographical boundaries, asserted themselves and the

¹ *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 201.

various groups became specialized with peculiar habits and institutions. By the end of the fifteenth century these nationalities had grown, through war and commerce, into strong monarchical governments, which refused even a nominal recognition of the Holy Roman Empire. Spain was united under Ferdinand and Isabella. In France the concentration of all power in the king, the creation of a compact and solid kingdom out of a number of rival and hostile provinces, signified not only territorial union, but administrative autocracy, and indicated that France had come to manhood under Francis I. Just at the same time England emerged from the terrible wars of the barons, which left the power of the nobility weakened and its numbers greatly diminished; the Commons wearied with the long struggle; and "the great monarchical administrative unity towering high over the prostrate estates," embodied in two kings—one Henry VII. "who was a tyrant in self-defense," and the other, his son, Henry VIII. "who was a tyrant from sheer self-will." In Germany, Maximilian had concentrated in his own hands the territorial possessions of the Hapsburgs and had united Austria and her outlying states. All over the world the national spirit was awake and was ready to rebel against the old Imperial Order with which the Church was identified.

II. When we come to the Intellectual viewpoint, we note that the scholastic philosophy, which represented the intellectual activity of the Middle Ages, reached its climax in the thirteenth century, and the characteristic of scholasticism was that it undertook to settle all questions in heaven and earth, and settled them dogmatically without appeal. All possible religious questions were solved by reference to the Church's decisions, and questions which fell altogether outside of ecclesiastical limits—questions for example of observation and physical science—were decided by an appeal to Aristotle, who was called “the Philosopher” par excellence, or were determined *a priori*. The inductive method, by which judgments are derived from ascertained facts, was practically unknown. Against this kind of dogmatism the human mind was asserting in every direction its impatience and intolerance.

The artistic and literary revival began with the canvas and fresco painting of Cimabue and Giotto, and the writings of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In all this movement there was a manifest desire to go back to old classic models. Pope Julius II. tore down the venerable Basilica of St. Peter in order to rebuild it in the style of a classical heathen temple. Men were intoxicated with

the new learning, *i.e.*, with the study of Latin and Greek, and the art and literature of the Greeks, and this received a tremendous impetus by the fall of Constantinople in 1453, when so many Greek scholars came into the West for residence. And in this classical revival—this Renaissance as it is called—its devotees swallowed the ancient literature, dregs and all, and became paganized. Of Pope Leo X. who succeeded Julius and was a friend of Ariosto, of Machiavelli, of Raphael—Sarpi, in his *History of the Council of Trent*, says: “He would have been a Pope absolutely complete if, with his love of music and his gentle kindness, he had joined some knowledge in things concerning religion.” And this was the Pope who excommunicated Martin Luther and set the fire of the Reformation ablaze. Blatant skepticism and gross immorality characterized the Pagan Renaissance in Italy: but that same intellectual awakening among the Teutonic races—in Germany and England—drove scholars to the study of the New Testament in the original and to fierce rejection of teachings that were inconsistent with it. It is easy to see how such a movement, once started, could lead to crass individualism exploiting a thousand vagaries and rebelling against all authority. At the same time let us remember, as Aubrey Moore said, “Real liberty may always become li-

cense, but that is not an argument in favor of bondage.”²

It is profoundly true, that the Reformation was the revelation of a new branch of the human race to the world. The Teutonic peoples had been brought under a Roman civilization as early as the fourth century, and they had been steadily growing in weight and importance; but they had not occupied a position of supremacy like that of Italy or France or Spain. In God's Providence they made the intellectual awakening of the sixteenth century religious, and by sound learning and a certain native reverence and serious-mindedness, saved the moral ideals of Christendom and gave the movement of mere intellectual revolt a positive spiritual value. From the sixteenth century the Teutonic peoples begin to take the leading place in the world's progress and the centre of gravity of European politics is transferred forever to the north of the Alps.³

III. From the aspect of Religion and Morals, the Reformation was a revolt of faith and conscience and reason against unreality: against the substitution of the trappings of religion for religion itself. Every religion sooner or later tends to fixity and rigidity of form, and there is always

² *Lectures on the Reformation.*

³ See Collins, *The Reformation.*

danger of treating the form as though it were the religion—that was the condition of Jewish religion in the time of Christ. Deep feelings express themselves in acts; then the acts rightly become sacred; and then perhaps the good act degenerates into mere mechanical routine. What roused the Reformers was St. Paul's clarion appeal in the Epistle to the Galatians for the recognition of the supreme importance of the individual human soul, and its sacred right of direct communion with God.

Whatever mistakes he made, and like all daring human spirits he did make some tremendous mistakes, Martin Luther was a man of great genius, of lofty purpose and passionate earnestness; and when he went to Rome to visit the Holy City of his Faith, the spectacle of the pomp of formal and frequent religious observances, conducted by men whose daily lives were a by-word and a hissing for their iniquities, stunned and appalled him; and what was true of the leaders of the Italian Renaissance was true to a degree elsewhere.

The fact was that the organization of the Mediaeval Church had become unwieldy. Institutions, once useful, had outlived their usefulness. Monasticism fostered an idle and lazy class of men. There were too many clergy, and many of them led unworthy lives. Ecclesiastical discipline, as

Creighton says, from the Court of Rome down to every diocesan court, was a vexatious means of exacting money; and justice was too often a matter of bargain and sale. And while this seems terrible to us, let it be understood that it is only part of the story—one side of the picture, though a very conspicuous side. There were many thousands of men and women in the Church—even in the Italian section of the Church—whose spiritual life and enthusiasm were as high and beautiful as any age could boast of, and who found in these very forms and ceremonies the reality of the Presence and Power of the Living Christ. “The Oratory of Divine Love,” to cite only one instance, produced characters and taught doctrines as pure and as evangelical as were ever produced in the world. It was the influence of spirits like these in the previous century which had created the reform movement, sixty years before Luther was born, and had groaned over the failure of council after council to accomplish anything, because the ecclesiastical politicians were always in control.

Certainly the fair-minded student of history must admit, that the Roman Hierarchy had received notice one hundred years before the break came, and it was at last their persistent and invincible blindness and bigotry that drove many of

the Church's noblest and most loyal children into a revolt, which they deeply deplored. It was simply a case of driving and forcing men's souls, and he who tries to force the souls of men, "tilts with a straw against a champion cased in adamant."

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND IN THESE
THREE ASPECTS

When we come to study the Reformation in England as a Political, Intellectual, and Religious Movement, we are able at once to account for its peculiarities—peculiarities that differentiate it from the movement on the Continent and give to the English Church, the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, a mediating position in Christendom. As Dr. Beard, the learned Unitarian Hibbert lecturer, says: "When a laborious German compiler enumerates the English among the Reformed Churches, which own a Genevan origin, . . . an Anglican Churchman can only be amused. And in truth such a procedure is conspicuously unfaithful to historical fact. Lutheran, Calvinistic, perhaps even Zwinglian lines of influence upon the English Reformation may be traced without difficulty; but there was a native element, stronger than any of them, which at once assimilated them and gave its own character to the result."⁴

⁴ *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 301.

(1) First, then, considered as a Political Movement, the Reformation appealed to the mind and heart of a very powerful king, who had already dreamed of supplanting the so-called Roman Emperor and of assuming the imperial title himself. Professor Freeman, in the article on England in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, stresses this fact as necessary to the understanding of Henry's attitude. Moreover, during the years of Henry VII's reign England had grown tremendously in power and wealth, and her prosperous middle class of merchant people wanted freedom from any foreign dominion. When therefore the king, whose popularity with all classes was enormous, who was extolled by foreigners like Erasmus for his learning and culture, and by his subjects for his lavish generosity and robust manliness; when this King Henry declared that the foreign Pope had violated the law in permitting him to marry his brother's widow; when it was whispered that she could never bear a son to succeed the king, and that this might lead to more confusion and possible warfare, his subjects sympathized with his purpose to have the marriage with Katharine annulled. Moreover, every modern writer admits that the Pope's policy as to this annulment was not straightforward. The facts seem to justify the conclusion that if Katharine

had not been the aunt of Charles V. Emperor of Germany, who had the Pope in his power, the annulment of the marriage would have been granted easily "for a consideration." When at last Henry, in 1534 vaulted, as it were, into the Reformation Movement, he immediately asserted aggressively his royal prerogative, and demanded that he be recognized as Head of the Church and be paid a fine from the clergy of two million pounds, or ten million dollars. The terrified clergy paid the fine and they also acknowledged the title, with the proviso "as far as the law of Christ will allow." Technically, King Henry had all the law and precedent on his side. Other kings had done the same thing. He was in the exact position that Philip IV. of France had been. You will all recall the words, which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of King John—just three hundred years before Henry's time:

"Tell the Pope this tale; and from the mouth of England
Add thus much more, that no Italian Priest
Shall tithe or toll in our Dominions;
But as we, under Heaven are Supreme Head,
So under Him that great Supremacy,
Where we do reign, we will alone uphold,
Without the assistance of a mortal hand:
So tell the Pope, all reverence set apart
To him and his usurped authority." (K. John, III, i.)

Doubtless Henry argued thus with himself, for at heart he was a loyal son of Rome. But he had

poured oil on the fire and the conflagration was complete, and not to be extinguished, until the barnacles of a thousand years' growth, and possibly something of the ship itself had been burned away. It was the natural result of historical circumstance and tradition, that the Reformation in the English Church should take on a political complexion. The Church and State in England had been inextricably interlaced and interrelated by the growth of centuries. It was through the unity of the Church, as Stubbs shows in his Constitutional History, that the people in the separate kingdoms in England gradually waked up to the sense of a common political destiny; and under King Alfred the formal organization of the Kingdom of England really grew out of, and was created by, the antecedent unity of the Church. The Bishops of the Church became leaders in parliamentary affairs and until the sixteenth century there never had been a Lay Lord Chancellor. The King's relation to the Church was in his Kingdom something like that of the Holy Roman Emperor and he was accorded a quasi-ecclesiastical, a quasi-spiritual authority. He could not make a *Bishop*, *Priest*, or *Deacon*—that was a spiritual and ecclesiastical function—but he could grant or withhold the right to officiate. When the Pope's supremacy over England was repudiated,

all jurisdiction of State and Church was transferred to the King and he assumed the title Supreme Head of the Church; and while in his later years he took great liberties, yet he never presumed to perform any spiritual function. He had to exercise his authority through Convocation and Parliament. It is evident, however, and for the above reasons, that through the whole process of Reformation in England, for a century and a quarter, political considerations and political changes had a peculiar and unparalleled influence upon the Church.

(2) When we consider the Reformation as an Intellectual Movement in England we are at once impressed by the manifestations of the English habit of mind. Englishmen, as a class, have been practical people and not metaphysicians. The French philosopher said: "I think, therefore I am," but a great Englishman said: "I act, therefore I am." (Westcott.) That expresses the point. There were from the beginning of the Reformation the three tendencies—one towards extreme Continental Protestantism, one towards extreme Papalism, or what we call Mediaevalism, and then there was the conservative attitude of most influential Englishmen, who were not compromisers but harmonizers. This last class won the day after a long struggle and the English Church finally

emerged with a clearly defined policy, which may be expressed in three propositions, viz.:

1. The integrity and continuity of the Church, with the primitive institution of the sacraments, must be maintained at all costs.

2. The Holy Scriptures must be frankly accepted as the sole basis of doctrine and Church government; and whatever may be clearly shown by sound learning to have been the facts of the Gospel and of the foundation of the Church, must be honestly admitted whether they seem to fit in with pre-conceived theories or not. The chief concern is not to get a logical system but to get at the truth; and the Church is the keeper and witness of Holy Scripture and not the infallible interpreter of it.

3. The Book of Common Prayer is the practical and concrete expression of this intellectual attitude.

It is interesting and instructive to note in this connection, that, while from time to time Explanatory Articles of Religion were set forth in England, they were never meant nor understood to be Creedal statements, like the Apostles or Nicene Creeds.

At the very outset of the Reform Movement it was declared by law (25 Henry VIII. c. 21, A. D. 1533), "That the King and Parliament did not

by it (*i. e.*, by repudiating the Pope's Supremacy) intend to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's Church in anything concerning the very articles of the Catholic Faith of Christendom, and in any other things declared by Scripture and the Word of God necessary for salvation."

And Queen Elizabeth took care to write to the Catholic princes of Europe, "No new religion has been set up in England, but that which was commanded by Our Saviour, practised by the primitive church and approved by the fathers of the best antiquity." (See Benton, XXIII.)

The three Creeds, viz.: The Creed called the Apostles Creed, the Creed called the Nicene Creed, and the Creed, or rather hymn, called the Athanasian Creed (still recited on special days in the Church of England) were regarded as sufficient statements of the faith. But no less than eight explanations or statements of Christian Doctrine were set forth between the years 1536 and 1571. The last of these statements, called the XXXIX Articles of Religion, has still to be subscribed to by the Clergy in the English Church, and they contain a very judicious and carefully worded declaration of the position of the Church of England on the fundamental truths of religion and on the controverted questions of that time. They do not cover all points of Christian Doctrine and

they claim to be only "articles agreed upon by the Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy, of the year 1562, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion": and, in order, as the "Declaration" says, that "the disputes may be shut up in God's promises as they be *generally* set forth to us in the Holy Scriptures and the *general* meaning of the Articles of the Church." The articles, although printed at the end of the American Prayer Book are not really a part of it, and we use them only as a basis to furnish an outline for the instruction of our students in Theology and as an interesting memorial of past controversy.

4. The English Reformation, as a moral and religious movement, which I hope to discuss at more length in my last lecture, is well described by John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, in a sermon which he preached in 1511, and which has come down to us as good contemporary evidence.

The whole sermon is an earnest appeal for the reform of abuses which are destroying the influence of the Church and turning men's minds away from religion. He speaks of worldly pomp and ambition, of feasting and babbling and carnal concupiscence, among the clergy, of their greed and avarice, and the corresponding effect upon the

laity. He laments the existence of nepotism and simony and non-residence and pluralities—"boys for old men, fools for wise men, evil for good, do reign and rule." Bishops absent from their dioceses, curates and vicars and parish priests, holding many livings, and drawing their salaries, and living away from home, and all this with the knowledge and consent of the highest authority.

No wonder that religious doctrine was corrupt and religious practices debased with superstition. No wonder that there was popular unrest and the wide-spread desire for change.

Political, intellectual, moral, ecclesiastical, conditions—all were gathering force to precipitate the storm. The only thing that was needed was a clash, a jolt, an explosion, and that was furnished by the King's quarrel.

The results were far off and were to be accomplished only after much trial and suffering and bitter misunderstandings and mistrust. But when the equilibrium was reached, the Church of England, like a storm-tossed ship, found herself, at least not wrecked nor seriously disfigured, but manned by stout hearts—free men in a free Church—on an even keel and in an open sea.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

AND THE DOCTRINAL AND PRACTICAL ABUSES WHICH IT SUPERSEDED



HAVE given in the previous lectures a sketch of the history of the Prayer Book and of the causes, both in England and on the Continent, which brought about that Reformation of Religion, which constituted one of the most influential epochs in the history of mankind. According to the most recent statistics there are about 500 million Christians in the world, of whom about 250 millions reject, and quite 150 millions, in one way or another, appeal to the principles that were declared at the Reformation. The other 100 millions represent a portion of Christendom not affected by the movement. According to the judgment of the best modern scholars (of Professor Beard, Unitarian, Hibbert Lecturer) the Reformation in England was *sui generis* and must be studied apart

from the similar movements on the continent of Europe.

The task, therefore, which I have set for myself in this lecture is the description of the changes which took place in the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Church of England (and, therefore, in our own Episcopal Church) during the period which we have been considering. I shall try to give a brief but intelligible account of the un-Catholic (and by this I mean the unhistorical and un-primitive) teaching and practice which prevailed in England at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the reformation of this doctrine and practice which took place and is embodied in the Book of Common Prayer.

The most conspicuous abuses in Doctrinal teaching were connected with the two great subjects, viz.: the State of the Dead and the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist.

It is easy to understand what a hold on the imaginations of men, in that fierce and warring time, when human life was cheap, was the doctrine of Purgatory. It was a comparatively new doctrine—but it suited human needs. In practice it meant simply that no soul, however wicked, ever went straight to hell, but to an intermediate state of torture, from which it could be delivered by the prayers of the Church, and more especially

by the offering of the Mass. Thus Purgatory took the place of Hell and encouraged men to sin with a royal gusto, provided they left enough money to pay for the masses that would shorten their time in this material underworld of remedial punishment. The applications for these special masses for the dead became so numerous and frequent that a special order of Priests had to be provided for this purpose; and chantries, with special altars, were arranged in or added to the churches for their accommodation. As the Mass could not be celebrated after noon, laws had to be passed prescribing how many masses could reverently be said by a Priest on the same day. It was a common saying that "there are no rich people in Purgatory—only the poor and the fools." (See Bp. Hall, IX., 18.)

Thus one abuse led to another, and the Holy Communion practically ceased to be a Communion at all; comparatively few laymen received the sacrament more than once a year and this custom prevailed even in many monastic establishments. When they did receive it, it was administered only in one kind, and this custom of refusing the chalice to the laity had an extraordinary history. It was condemned by Pope Urban II. at the Council of Clermont in 1095, and although the Council of Constance (1439) finally authorized

it, some parishes in the diocese of Durham, England, ignored it as late as 1515. This illustrates the independent spirit in the Church of England—which crops out persistently during the whole Mediaeval period.

It must be remembered that we are writing about an age when the masses of the people were rude and ignorant and credulous beyond our comprehension, and unfortunately the men in high position, who knew better, permitted their greed of power to take advantage of the popular weakness and credulity. For example, the doctrine of transubstantiation was a purely metaphysical and almost unintelligible effort to reconcile the plain fact of the existence of the bread and wine after they were consecrated by the Priest, with the theory that they did not exist; but the popular application of this doctrine, and the legends that arose reciting incidents of the consecrated bread seen bleeding on the altar, are almost appalling in their grossness. When a personage as great as Pope Urban V. could and did send a piece of mixed wax and balsam to an Emperor, with the solemn assurance that it would protect him from lightning and fire and shipwreck, etc., we cannot wonder at the popular use of charms, the reverence for relics and images, and the silly and vicious superstitions that prevailed. The practice of indulgences made

salvation, to use the language of the time, a matter of money, or, as we say, a matter of dollars and cents. It began with the crusades, when knights leaving their homes for this foreign war were assured by Papal decree, that they would be clear from all consequences of sin in case of death. (See Blunt, v. I., p. 37.)

In the sixteenth century, Pope Leo X., in order to raise money to build St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome, sold indulgences by wholesale to the Archbishop Albert of Brandenburg and he in turn farmed them out to agents, who sold them on commission. One of these agents, John Tetzel, came into collision with Martin Luther, and that started the Reformation in Germany. These indulgences really represented the practical result of compulsory auricular confession, before Communion, which had been decreed for the first time in the Lateran Council of 1215. When a man or woman confessed sins to a Priest, absolution had to be accompanied, if not conditioned, by an act of penance. This penance after a while took the form of a fine in money. Thus the indulgence, or remission of penance, could be bought beforehand. Some fine distinctions have been attempted by authors in dealing with this subject; for example, that remitting the penalty for sin beforehand is not the same thing as giving permis-

sion to sin; but you must consider the average ignorance and superstition of the age and draw your own conclusions. It is evident from the controversies of the time (and we have an abundant literature to inform us) that another popular objection to the obligatory confessional was that it too was made an instrument of tyranny. As a learned writer of the sixteenth century declares (Hall, v. IX, p. 19): "The virtue of absolution depends on the fulness of confession: and that upon examination: and the sufficiency of examination is so full of scruples, besides those infinite cases of unresolved doubts, that the poor soul never knows when it is clear." And on top of all this was the doctrine of intention commonly taught and set forth by the Reforming Council of Trent, that unless the ministers of the sacraments really intend to administer the grace according to the order of the Church, their spoken words and external acts count for nothing, and the sacrament is not valid. According to this it would seem, certainly, that a man could never know whether he has ever been baptized or confirmed or married or absolved or communicated. No magnifying of the popularity and power of Elizabeth (I do not mention Henry VIII., because he was in favor of most of these abuses) will account for the rapid spread of the Reformed opin-

ions in England. The people at large were glad to have a change. Many of the abuses, above described—abuses of doctrine and authority—affected very intimately the religious life of the laity; and so long as they were persuaded that these practices were authorized by the Scriptures, they had to submit; but when the Bible was made an open book for every man to read and study for himself, they joined eagerly in the revolt. Moreover, the Monastic ideal, which had become the supreme Christian ideal, exalted asceticism and disparaged the common life of people—treating it as something inferior, if not worthless. When, therefore, the monasteries were abolished and the clergy were permitted to marry; and the Christian family and the Christian home—for both clergy and laity—became the training ground for piety and the exemplification of true religion, the entire everyday social life of the people was consecrated and every activity—political, economic, educational and recreative—took on a new meaning and value. Really, when we read the story and consider how many and strong were the appeals which the movement made to the average mind, we cannot be surprised at excesses of individualism, but only astonished at the conservatism, that finally triumphed.

The Reform movement in the reigns of Henry

VIII. and Edward VI., we may say was but the first step taken by the Church of England in reaching the position, which was finally taken, for weal or woe, in 1662. The movement in Henry's reign was dominated by the King himself, who hated the Pope, plundered the monasteries, and disapproved of the most important of the Reformation principles; and Edward VI. was a boy, ruled by the Protectors, Somerset and Northumberland, who seized the opportunity to confiscate more of the Church property and were encouraged, for ulterior purposes, by the disciples of Calvin in Switzerland to make the Church more and more a mere department of the State. The reign lasted only six years, and from the reforms that were proposed, it would appear that the ancient Church of England was drifting to shipwreck and complete ruin. Mary and Elizabeth together saved the Church—Mary by permitting the Spanish Inquisitors to make the anti-Reformation movement odious, and Elizabeth by her splendid and patriotic intelligence, that put men of great ability and learning at the head of affairs and gave the real *esprit de corps* of Churchmen a chance to grow and assert itself. Her Archbishop, Parker, was an historian of proved learning, and during her reign men like Jewell and Hooker and Andrewes and Bancroft more than

held their ground against the Roman and Puritan controversialists. Hooker appealed to reason, and Andrewes appealed to history, and the fair-minded reader must admit that the arguments they marshalled, whether they were valid or not, certainly were not answered. They declared and defended the principles which the Book of Common Prayer embodies and illustrates, and which the Anglican Communion has stood for ever since. They proved the integrity and organic continuity of the Church, its ministry and sacraments, and showed that her doctrinal liberality, her refusal to go beyond the great historic Creeds in her requirements for Baptism and Communion, was in conformity with the use and practice of the earliest and purest age of the Church. They swept aside the accumulated superstitions of centuries and appealed to the Scriptures and to the facts of primitive Christian customs and ideals. They agreed, however, upon the fundamental and characteristic principles and usages of historical Christianity, viz.: the supreme solemnity and value of the service of the Holy Communion and upon the necessity of Episcopal ordination. The reverent regard for the Sacrament implied the care for the ordination of the ministry, and the jealous conservation of the Ministerial Succession implied the reverence for the Sacrament. They accepted

and approved the ancient truth, that, as the Holy Communion was a supreme Ceremonial Action of the whole Church, the vestments of the clergy should be retained and other rites and ceremonies, not directly contrary to God's word, such as the use of the sign of the Cross, the ring in the Marriage service, the throwing of earth upon the coffin at burials, and other accessories of the service, which the experience of centuries had approved.

This attitude aroused, of course, vehement and violent opposition from the extremists, who believed, as he himself claimed, that John Calvin, at Geneva, Switzerland, was inspired of God, and that no order of service or Church Government ought to be permitted except that which he had originated, viz.: the Presbyterian Polity, with his Book of Holy Discipline and his peculiar forms of prayer.

It was at once the misfortune and the privilege of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, from 1625 to 1647, to bear the brunt of this opposition of the Puritans. Laud was a man of sound learning, great ability, absolutely sincere; and his idea of the Church of England, as Creighton says, was higher and truer than that of any other man of his time; but there was about him the coldness which comes of a strictly logical intelligence, which was sure of its own ground and

cared little for conciliation. Therefore, he had little magnetism and few friends. His real fight was for intellectual freedom in the Church. His failure was due to the method and manner in which he sought to accomplish it.

I have always thought that there was a decided likeness of disposition and intellect between Laud and Calvin. Both had logical minds and powerful intellects, but neither one of them had the sense of humor, without which there is no capacity to see things in right perspective. Archbishop Laud, however, died a martyr to the Church's cause, which, at that time, was the cause of intellectual liberty, and no man ever lived to whom the people who love the Book of Common Prayer, owe more than they do to him.

On nearly every page of the Prayer Book you will find the marks of the conflict, through which as through a crucible, it has come down to us. Its very Title Page is a declaration of historical continuity with the past and of modest toleration. "The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of *the* Church, according to the use of the Church of England" or "of the Protestant Episcopal Church." So also the Preface to the Ordinal asserts the facts of history, without criticism of any other form of Church Government. "It is

evident unto all men, reading Holy Scripture and Ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons . . . and no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in *this* Church . . . except he hath had Episcopal consecration or ordination.” So the general Preface to the whole Book, published after the last Revision in 1661, is as follows, viz.: “Of the sundry alterations proposed unto us, we have rejected all such as were either of dangerous consequence (as secretly striking some established doctrine or laudable practice of the Church of England, or indeed of the whole Catholic Church of Christ) or else of no consequence at all, but utterly frivolous and vain. But such alterations as were tendered to us as seemed to us in any way requisite and expedient we have willingly assented unto. . . . Our general aim was not to gratify this or that party . . . but to do that, which to our best understandings might most tend to the preservation of Peace and Unity in the Church: the procuring of reverence and exciting of Piety and Devotion in the Public Worship of God.”

The Office for the Administration of the Holy Communion with its rubrics will furnish us with a good example of the wise conservatism which

characterized the Reformed Church of England in making the changes, which seemed absolutely necessary. Our Communion Service is substantially a translation of the Salisbury Missal, which had been used in England for five hundred years. This Missal was in its structure peculiar to the Church of England because when St. Augustine came to England in 596 he found the British Church already existing and organized, and was specially authorized by Pope Gregory to continue the use of the native liturgy with a few modifications. For this reason the Communion Office of the Church of England is closer kin to the Eastern Liturgy of Ephesus than to that of Rome, and this is particularly true of the Communion Service of the Episcopal Church, which, as I have said elsewhere, has features derived from the Scotch Service Book taken directly from the East.

It is a noteworthy and characteristic feature of this English Office that alone of all the liturgies it virtually begins with the recitation of the Ten Commandments. No other Communion Service in Christendom has this provision; and it is reported of the Duke of Wellington, that he said on one occasion, when the disestablishment of the English Church was being discussed, that "it would be worth while to maintain the status of

the Church, if for nothing else, just to have the Ten Commandments of the Moral Law recited every Sunday in every parish in the Kingdom."

This provision, however, illustrates the learning of the translators of our Communion Office; because it is well known to scholars, that some such lesson from the Old Testament was common in Eastern Liturgies. It was the religious genius of the English Reformers that selected the Ten Commandments from various readings of the Old Testament.

The Office was deliberately constructed so as to be a Communion Service and not a solitary Mass to be repeated by the Priest with rapid enunciation many times a day, without regard to whether there were any persons present to receive the sacrament, after the manner of the "Chantry Priests." In the first Prayer Book, the name "Mass" was referred to in the title "The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called The Mass"; but this latter name was dropped in subsequent revisions of the Prayer Book, because it was not a primitive name for the Holy Communion; it had no special significance,¹ being a barbarous Latin designation for any kind of religious service; it was never heard

¹ *Vide, Catholic (Roman) Dictionary, p. 562.*

of before the end of the fourth century; and because it was connected in the popular mind with so many mediæval abuses as to be liable to be misunderstood. The same cautious attitude was observed with regard to the practice of compulsory auricular confession, which had been so intimately associated with the Holy Communion and out of which the whole system of Indulgences—the burning question of the German Reformation—had grown. For four hundred years there was a custom prevalent in the Church of open confession of sins, in more or less minute detail, before the congregation, and this naturally led to scandals and to the relegation of such self-disclosures to the privacy of the closet; but it was not until 1215 A. D. that the Pope decreed that every Christian man and woman was solemnly obligated to make Confession to the Priest at least once a year. The practical result of this decree was to encourage reliance upon the mere formal obedience to an ecclesiastical rule, and weaken the sense of individual responsibility.

On this whole subject, bristling with difficulties as it was, the Church of England took what it seems to me was a brave as well as a wise position. She did not yield to the Puritan clamor and repudiate a practice which had a very real foundation in human nature's needs (for

the Wesleyans had to revive it), but declared that this method of seeking pardon for one's sins was purely voluntary and for exceptional cases. The language in the Communion Office is: "If there be any of you who by this means (*i. e.*, by ordinary repentance and confession and readiness to make restitution) cannot quiet his own conscience herein, but requireth further comfort or counsel, let him come to me or some other discreet and learned Minister of God's Word and open his grief; that by the ministry of God's Holy Word he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience and the avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness."

The same wise moderation permits the use of either leavened or unleavened bread, and allows but does not compel the use of the special Eucharistic Vestments. The Reservation of the Sacrament, in any way whatever, is not mentioned in the Prayer Book and certainly is not authorized. The first Prayer Book did provide for the carrying of the Sacrament on days, when there was a stated Communion, to sick folk who could not get to Church, and this was a most ancient and precious custom of the early Church; but even this "Reservation for the sick" had to be discontinued, because it was taken advantage of by

party men and made the excuse for Reserving the Sacrament as an object of Divine Worship (Latreia), a very modern and misleading custom, unknown to-day to the churches of Eastern Christendom.

We may fitly conclude this lecture with a quotation from the late Dr. Brooke Foss Westcott, Bishop of Durham, one of the greatest scholars and most philosophical thinkers that the English-speaking world has produced:²

“Our island home,” he said, “has profoundly affected our history and character. . . . With us State and Church have from the first grown side by side. Each has acted on the other. . . . In the Great Charter of English Liberties the Church of England (Ecclesia Anglicana) holds the foremost place. . . . The intimate intercourse of the spiritual and temporal powers of England has at once guarded the freedom of Churchmen and increased their responsibility. It has checked the inclination of theological students to multiply the definitions of dogma, which, even when correct, tend to mar the simplicity and breadth of that with which they deal. In this respect the English Reformation differed essentially from the typical Reformations on the Continent. It

² *Lessons from Work*, p. 52.

was a Reformation and not a reconstruction. It made no attempt to do away with the past. . . . It showed the greatest respect to antiquity, but its final appeal was to Scripture. It accepted no formulary in itself of absolute authority. The Creeds are 'to be received and believed, for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture,' and, 'whatever is not read therein nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man.' . . . The English Reformation corresponds with the English character, which is disinclined to seek the completeness of a Theological system. It looks to finding Truth through life rather than through Logic, for Truth is not of the intellect only. It is patient of hesitation, indefiniteness, even of superficial inconsistency, if only the root of the matter can be held firmly for the guidance of conduct; for spiritual subjects are too vast to furnish clear-cut premises from which exhaustive conclusions can be drawn. So we naturally turn again and again to the historic elements in our Creed. These are of life; and unto life; and through life." Or, as we Americans express it, Only the things that belong to life and help life and increase life, are worth our while.

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE

ITS MEANING AND VALUE

A sermon, preached at the consecration of the Rev. James
R. Winchester, D.D., as Bishop Coadjutor of Arkansas,
on the Feast of St. Michael and All Angels,
September 29, 1911

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE

ITS MEANING AND VALUE

"I am the Light of the world: he that followeth Me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life."—St. John 8: 12.



THE Lord Jesus Christ is the Light and Life of the world. To-day, as I speak to you, His Presence and the communication of His Personal Power are the vital forces in the progress of mankind. Not His words, not His example, but He Himself is the vital Energy, that is pulsing through Humanity, slowly but surely redeeming, renewing, re-creating our mortality into Eternal Life. "He that hath the Son hath life."¹ "This is Life Eternal," we have His word for it, "to know Thee, the Only true God and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent."² "I am the way, the truth, and the life, and no man cometh unto the Father but by Me."³

I have seen the sun in the morning, obscured,

¹ St. John 5: 12.

² St. John 17: 3

³ St. John 14: 6.

almost hidden, by the heavy banks of cloud, and then, little by little, I have seen the light absorb the darkness, and the heat melt and dissipate the vapor, until the atmosphere was clear as crystal. The clouds were not destroyed; the vapor was still there; but it was so permeated by the light and heat, that its gloom was transformed into glory. So, I believe, the Eternal Christ is throbbing through life's vapors, like a fiery heart to the world, melting its cruelties, forging its faith, kindling its love, brightening its vision.

This was the keynote of St. Paul's message, and his hearers so understood it. As Festus said to Agrippa, "It is a question of one Jesus, who was dead, and whom Paul affirms to be alive."⁴ This is what St. Paul means in the Epistle to the Ephesians, when he says, that the complete dominion of this Christ life—this Christ nature—in commerce, in legislation, in international relations, in theology, in social life, in home life, and in individual experience, will be the fulfillment of God's ideal for the race, and the perfection of man, as the son of God, "until we all come," he says, "in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto the perfect man."⁵

⁴ Acts 25: 19.

⁵ Ephes. 4: 13.

“Where is one, that born of woman, altogether can escape
From the lower world within him, moods of tiger or of ape?
Man, as yet, is being made; and ere the crowning Age of
Ages,

Shall not acon after acon pass and touch him into shape?
All about him still the shadow, but, while races flower
and fade,

Prophet-eyes may catch a glory ever gaining on the shade,
Till the peoples all are one, and their voices blend in
choric

Hallelujah to the Maker, It is finished. Man is made.”

II. And second, this communication of the Christ Life to the world is the work of the Spirit of God. It is the Holy Spirit, we say in the Creed, who is the Lord of Life.

Wherever we see outward, visible, material things organizing into system, and order, and beauty, and pulsing with life, there is the Holy Spirit of God. When all nature was chaos and confusion it was the Holy Spirit that moved upon the face of the waters and brought forth order and law. When God willed to become man for our sakes and forever unite the physical (as we call it) to the spiritual—the mortal manhood to the immortal Deity—it was the Holy Spirit who came upon the Virgin and overshadowed her, so that “that Holy Thing that was born of her was called the Son of God.”⁶ When at last the work of Jesus on earth was finished and He had as-

⁶ St. Luke 1: 35.

cended to the Right Hand of the Father, it was the Holy Spirit who came down upon that handful of bereft, perplexed disciples, and moulded them into an organized, definite and effective society, called The Church. For indeed, this was the Lord's promise: "It is expedient for you, that I go away; for, if I go not away, the Comforter (the Spirit) will not come unto you; but, if I go away, I will send Him unto you."⁷ "He shall receive of Mine and shall show it unto you":⁸ "When He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth."⁹ Therefore the great Apostle, on a special occasion, having need to assert this authority of organization in the Church, did not hesitate to say, "We have the mind of Christ";¹⁰ and, in writing to the man, whom he had appointed as the head and ruler of the whole church in Ephesus, he commanded "The things which thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also,"¹¹ and "lay hands suddenly on no man."¹²

III. It is of vital importance to us as Chris-

⁷ St. John 16: 7.

⁸ 14.

⁹ 13.

¹⁰ I Cor. 2: 16.

¹¹ II Timothy 2: 2.

tians to remember that Christianity began its work in the world, not as an appeal to individuals, not as a doctrine or a philosophy, but as a family, a kingdom, an institution.

The communication of the Life of the Christ to humanity had to begin somewhere; and it is remarkable, that it began, not with one man, but with two men together, and was at the very outset a social institution. As St. John tells us (1:37), two disciples of the Baptist heard Him speak, and they followed Him. So also the Holy Spirit at Pentecost descended upon all the disciples and constituted the Church; and it was only after that, that we read of the Holy Spirit being given to individuals. In other words the Community, the Family, the Church, comes first, and is the medium of the life and grace, which is given through the Church to the individual. As St. Paul says, "God gave Him to be head over all things to the Church, which is His Body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all,"¹² and that "through the Church might be known the manifold wisdom of God";¹³ which is consistent with what he says elsewhere, that to be baptized into Christ is to be baptized into the Church.¹⁴ The

¹² I Tim. 5: 22.

¹³ Ephes. 1: 22; 3: 10.

¹⁴ Galat. 3: 27 and I Cor. 12: 13.

Church is ideally the manifestation of the gradually expanding impartation of Christ to the world, and therefore it is called His Body; "Ye are the Body of Christ and members in particular." (I Cor. 12:27.) If that Body were perfect in all its parts and activities, every member of the Body would be a living expression of the Christ; but because the Body is composed of imperfect human souls, because the Church is human in its administration though Divine in the origin and source of its life, we must expect failure here and there, where the intimacy of union with the Divine Lord has temporarily declined. The Lord knew this and anticipated it; and therefore at the very heart of the Body, the Church, as the guarantee of its essential Divine life, He Himself instituted a great and solemn Ceremonial Action, in and by which the Life-giving Presence of the Living Christ should be certified and assured to the end of time. Every Celebration of the Holy Communion is a declaration, that the Lord Jesus Christ is living, now and here; that the Church is His Body, through which He is giving Himself to the world; that every man and woman, who in faith partakes of that Sacrament, is partaking of Christ; that as the life of Christ on earth was the life of sacrifice, so the law of all spiritual life is sacrifice; and finally, that the

Minister, who, on behalf of the Church and by appointment of the Church, administers this Sacrament, is the representative of a Priesthood, so high, so beautiful, that it fulfils and crowns all the types and dreams of priesthood, that in the past have helped and blessed the world.

What Christ is, that the Church ought to be and will be; and that unrivalled priesthood of Jesus, whereby He through the Eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God, is the priesthood of His Church, which is His Body—the priesthood of service, of light-giving, and life-giving to mankind. So St. Peter says to the members of the Church, “Ye are an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God’s own possession”—“to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.”¹⁵ The existence of the Church—realizing, actualizing, the life and Presence of Christ by the power of the Holy Spirit, and communicating that Life to the world by its sacramental agencies—this, we believe, is of the very essence of the Gospel.

This Church was a real and visible society on the Day of Pentecost, when after St. Peter’s sermon, three thousand were added to it by baptism.

¹⁵ I Peter 2: 5.

It has continued to be a real and visible institution with its own principle of life, its own law, its own worship, its own Creed, ever since. There has never been a day nor an hour since Pentecost, when the visible and recognizable Church of Christ has not been existing and working in the world. To deny this is to deny the continuing Presence of the Lord, perpetually giving His Life through His authorized agencies to His people. To deny this is to make His promise of no effect, "Upon this Rock I will build My Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it."¹⁶ Of course the Church has been administered by fallible human beings. It has passed through many vicissitudes. In some countries and at some periods it has officially sunk to apparent depths of degradation. Its authority has been usurped by individual Bishops, by Kings and Emperors. Worldly and wicked ecclesiastics have used its power for cruelty, bigotry and wrong. It was rent by the schism of the East and West in the eleventh century, and again by the separation of Rome and England in the sixteenth century; but there has never been a time, when good Bishops have not been true pastors of their flocks, when faithful priests have not

¹⁶ St. Matt. 16: 18.

regularly administered the sacraments, and when loyal and godly laymen have not devoutly and consistently kept the faith. And so through it all—through the fires of heathen persecution, through the barbarism of the sixth and seventh centuries, through the storm of the Reformation, it has continued to be the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, to which Ignatius referred in the year 110 A. D., and the belief in which we profess to-day in the great Creed of Christendom.

IV. I have referred to St. Paul's description of the Church as the Body of Christ. I have spoken of the Holy Eucharist as the heart of the Body. Now I believe that the authorized Ministry, continued from age to age, ordained and appointed according to the provisions of the Church's public law, is the spinal column of the Body. That Ministry is essentially a priesthood, because the Church, as I have shown, is a priestly institution, for Christ, whom the Church represents, is a Priest forever.

As to the method and manner of the continuation of that Ministry, and its proper and legal appointment, the Church itself has never had any doubt. The First General Council met in Jerusalem in the year 51, and the Apostles were recognized as the authoritative members of it. The second General Council met in Nicea in

A. D. 325, and the Bishops of the various dioceses rendered its decisions. The historic Church has never hesitated for an instant in its assertion of the continuity and authority of the Episcopate. Some Councils have debated the Papal claims. Other Councils have questioned the authority of Archbishops and Metropolitans; but every Council of the Church for a thousand and five hundred years has taken the Episcopate for granted. Indeed, if we except the sacraments of baptism and the Holy Communion, there is not an institution of Christianity for which there is such ancient and indisputable evidence as there is for the Episcopate. Not even the observance of Sunday; not even the doctrine of the Trinity, can be attested by such ancient and indisputable proof.

For example: In the year 110 A. D., about ten years after the death of St. John the Apostle, there was a Bishop of Antioch, who had conversed with St. John, and was called Christophoros, because, it was said, he had been held in the arms of Our Lord Himself. This Bishop, Ignatius, was devoured by lions in the Arena at Rome, because he would not deny Christ. He wrote seven letters to the churches of Asia Minor, which have been preserved, and in them he speaks so frequently of the Episcopal government of the Church, that Lightfoot says, "All the evidence,

without one dissenting voice, points to Episcopacy as the established form of Church government in Asia Minor from the close of the first century; and the testimony for the spread of the Episcopate in this period is more abundant and more varied than for any other institution and event during this period.”¹⁷ And Professor Fisher, the Congregationalist Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Yale College wrote, “The institution of the monarchial or diocesan Episcopate may be attributed to St. John.”¹⁸ Again, there was a man named Irenaeus, who was Bishop of Lyons in Gaul from A. D. 179 to A. D. 200. He lived to a great age. He was born in Asia Minor and was a disciple of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, who was a pupil of St. John. We have a bulky volume of the writings of Irenaeus, which have come down to us, and in these writings he says: “We can enumerate those, who by the Apostles were appointed Bishops in the churches and their successors even to our own time.” A great Modern scholar, speaking of the reverence due the Bible, says, “Any man who wishes to know what the early Christians thought about the Bible can learn more from reading the writings of Irenaeus than he can by reading all the German mono-

¹⁷ *Apostolic Fathers*, Vol. I., p. 377.

¹⁸ *Validity of Non-Episcopal Ordination*, p. 4.

graphs on the subject that have appeared in the past fifty years." Irenaeus is a good witness for the Bible. He is also a good witness for the historic Episcopate.

But, to show that this conviction was not limited to any one part of the Christian world at that time, we have the statement of a Roman lawyer, Tertullian, who lived in North Africa before the end of the second century, as follows: "If any dare to connect themselves with the Apostolic age, let them unfold the succession of their Bishops, so coming down from the beginning with continuous steps from the Apostles."

These men lived very close to the Apostolic Age. St. John did not die until about the year 100 A. D., and Irenaeus was born about 125 A. D. Bishop White, the first Bishop of Pennsylvania, was consecrated Bishop in 1784; and Bishop Green of Mississippi, with whom I was intimately associated for a number of years, was a friend and companion of Bishop White. Consequently I have a right to feel that I know from Bishop Green's conversations with me what the opinions and judgments of Bishop White were; and I am separated from Bishop White by as long a period of years as Irenaeus was separated from St. John. I regret that I have had to weary the congregation here this morning with

these quotations. My argument is, that Christianity was from the start a vital organism—an institution, a Church—used as a vehicle and medium by the Holy Spirit to bear witness to Christ's Life-giving Presence in the world; and my reference to the dry facts of history was only for the purpose of corroborating this truth. We believe that the life and power of Christ, in a special sense, are communicated to men to-day, in and by the sacramental ministrations of the organized Church; and that they were so communicated during all the preceding centuries for eighteen hundred years. If this be true, it is worth while enquiring whether the Christian Church from the beginning has asserted and proclaimed this tremendous truth. We cannot help appealing to history, and history without doubt declares that the Church has proclaimed this truth, in its liturgies, its Creeds, its councils, and its public law.

V. It is not necessary for me to discuss at length the question, when and how the Church became conscious of the need of legislating on the subject of the Ministry. It is one thing to live, and it is another and a different thing to enquire into and determine those laws of health and growth by obedience to which life is promoted and sustained. We are quite justified in believ-

ing that the Church during the last half of the first century had a regularly constituted Ministry, even though we have no official and positive enactments or declarations on the subject. It is contrary to all experience of life to expect any such pronouncements. The Church, for example, lived in the faith of Jesus Christ, as the Only-begotten Son of God, for at least two hundred years before that truth was made the subject of formal enactment and credal definition; and the Gospel itself was preached for at least thirty years before it was committed to writing. The oak is involved in the acorn; and He who made the seed, made the tree.

Scholars with varying predispositions and motives have entered upon minute study and speculation as to the forms of ministry mentioned in the New Testament; as to the identity of the office of Bishop and Presbyter, when St. Paul wrote his Pastoral Epistles; as to the character and limitations of the charismatic ministries; as to the value of the evidence contained in the Christianized Jewish manual called the Didache; as to whether the authority of the Episcopate was to any degree advanced by the fact that Bishops appear to have been the financial agents of the congregations; as to whether there were any congregations in New Testament times which were in-

dependent of all order and authority—and the results have varied, according to the predilections of the scholars, some of whom seem to have lost sight of the whole in studying the parts. The great, the important fact is, that Christ founded His Church; that the Holy Spirit vitalized it on the Day of Pentecost; that the ministers of that Church baptized converts and administered the Holy Communion; and that the Church of St. Paul and St. John was the Church of Clement and Ignatius and Irenaeus and Augustine and Gregory and Anselm and Laud; and that that Church is on earth to-day, witnessing by the Eucharistic Oblation on a thousand thousand Altars throughout the world, the Presence and the Life of Jesus Christ her Lord.

VI. That Life is indeed, as our text says, the Light of the world, and with increasing earnestness and intensity good men are acknowledging His dominion.

For (1) the world cannot progress without a moral standard, a moral criterion; and all the genius of more than thirty generations has failed to invent an ideal of life equal to His. Whatever may be the differences of opinion among men as to the meaning and purpose of religion, there is practically no doubt in the civilized world as to its Highest Representative. The supreme type

of manhood is Jesus Christ. There are Chinamen who are saying that to-day and trying to live up to it; and Japanese, and Malays, and Indians, and Africans, as well as Americans and Europeans. There is no race of people on the earth among whom the appeal of the life and character of Jesus Christ can be said to have failed.

And then (2) as we realize the increased emphasis which is being placed to-day upon the social meaning of the Gospel and the social nature of its appeal, we cannot but be impressed with the wisdom of the Lord's provision, that there should be an illustration of this truth in an actual society of men and women, where love and not envy, service and not selfishness, are the ideal principles of its existence. Such a society, which is a family, where there are indeed differences of gifts, differences of function and order, but identity of life and purpose, based on love—such a society we believe Christ instituted when He founded His Church. It is true indeed, that the Church has not adequately fulfilled the purpose of its Founder (St. Paul says we have this treasure in earthen vessels), and that its unhappy divisions have diverted its attention from its primary aim and the justification of its being; but any fair-minded man who reads history, must admit that, to turn away from the historic Church is to turn away from the

only institution, which for more than a thousand and five hundred years has continuously and consistently offered any kind of organized resistance to the influences and forces, which have always been trying, as they are now trying, to make God a monster and man a mere selfish animal. Talk as you please; say what you will against the Mediæval Church or the eighteenth-century Church, there has never been a day nor an hour, when Bishops and priests—multitudes of them—have not been honestly and faithfully trying to realize the ideal, for which the Church was founded; viz.: to be an example and inspiration of social righteousness to the world. As an organization—and what is the use or value of any movement without organization?—the Church has had to have men exercising authority. But surely that exercise of authority has never been, in theory or intention, either arbitrary or selfish. Always, when men have been set apart for the higher ministries of the Church, it has been understood that they have accepted for, and on behalf of, the people a responsibility for wider, deeper, and more consecrated service.

We believe that these facts deepen the responsibility and enlarge the opportunity of the Episcopate in our day. The Bishop represents the universal, the Catholic spirit of Christianity. By the

very traditions of his office he is pledged to overgo and transcend all differences of party, all prejudices of class and section. A truly Catholic Bishop cannot be a partisan. People, it has been often said, who are doubtful of their social position, will always be asserting it; but a Bishop, who knows that he is a legitimate successor in the Apostolic Office, can afford to be broad-minded. He can recognize all baptized Christians as members of the one Catholic Church; and with due appreciation of the historic causes of our unhappy divisions he can interpret rules and rubrics, so as to emphasize the points of agreement among all Christian people, and cultivate charity, good-will, and sympathetic understanding, one of another. The love of Christ constraineth us.

Brethren: The Church of England was called the Bulwark of the Reformation, and we believe that it was the Providence of God that preserved in this Church the ancient order of the Episcopal Succession, which it is her duty to protect and to maintain, not as an exclusive privilege, but as a trust committed to her, and as basis perhaps, upon which all Christians may some day come together in visible union. Mortal men will never agree perfectly in their opinions or in the method of expressing their religious life; but they may agree upon an institution; and there is no organic insti-

tution of Christianity so Catholic, so ancient, as the Historic Episcopate.

Like St. Paul, therefore, we must magnify our office by cultivating the personal virtues of humility and faith. To minimize and depreciate the office would be to magnify ourselves. The more utterly we believe in the Divine authority of our commission, the more humble and gentle and charitable shall we be in the exercise of its authority.

The Lord said, in the words of my text, "I am the Light of the world; he that followeth Me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the Light of Life."

There is no compromise in those words—no suggestion of doubt, or concession, or indecision. Christ is all or nothing.

So the Church of Christ, which is His Body—the Church which was born, not yesterday, nor in the sixteenth century, nor in the eleventh century, when Hildebrand created the Papal Monarchy; but which began to be on the day of Pentecost—so the Church of Christ to-day, as in the beginning, asserts her authority and appeals to men, not with a "perhaps," but with a conviction of certainty. At this service this morning we are assisting in adding one more to the list of those stewards and trustees of her gifts, who by God's will have been

the instruments in perpetuating her long-descended life. It does seem a long, long time since Pentecost; and some men who would like to attribute uncertainty and confusion to the history of the Church, tell us that we cannot be sure of our ecclesiastical genealogy or our legitimate descent.

How foolish such talk is!

I remember standing in the Cathedral at Canterbury three years ago and reading upon the tablet in the west front the list of all the Archbishops, with dates of birth, death, and consecration, for thirteen hundred and twenty-one years. In the pavement of the sanctuary of our New York Cathedral of St. John the Divine there is a Roman brick, taken from the Church of St. John at Ephesus, which was built by the Emperor Justinian in the year 554 A. D., over the traditional site of St. John's grave.

Brethren: Time is but a law of thought. The Church is still young. The Christ who appeared visibly to St. Stephen and St. Paul and St. John, is the Christ who is with us here to-day.

Let us surrender ourselves to His Presence, and, as we set apart this our brother to the duties, the responsibilities, the labors of his Apostleship, let us listen for His Voice, saying: "Ye have not chosen Me, but I have chosen you; that ye should go and bring forth fruit, that your fruit should remain."

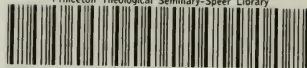
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